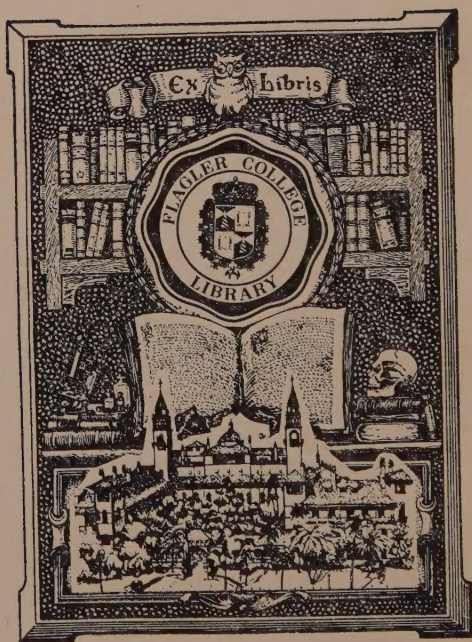


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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR
1936

IN THREE VOLUMES
VOLUME I
PROCEEDINGS FOR 1936



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1938

VOLUME I OF THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE YEAR 1936

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., June 2, 1937.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor of submitting to Congress the annual report of the Association for the year 1936.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. G. ABBOT, *Secretary.*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
740 FIFTEENTH STREET NW.,
Washington, D. C., June 1, 1937.

SIR: As provided by law, I submit herewith the annual report of the American Historical Association for the year 1936. This consists of three volumes, as follows:

Volume I contains the proceedings of the Association for 1936, the proceedings of the Pacific coast branch and the report of the Conference of Historical Societies for the same year, and *Mémoire sur les États Unis d'Amérique* by Joseph Fauchet, edited by Carl Ludwig Lokke. In accordance with the directions of the council¹ and of the committee on publication of the proceedings,² the list of past officers, the list of former prize and medal winners, the program of the annual meeting and the register of attendance have been omitted in the interests of economy. The first two will be found in previous *Reports*. A running account of the annual meeting for 1936 will be found in *The American Historical Review* for April 1937. A list of papers read on that occasion which have been printed or are about to be printed is included in this volume.³ The register of attendance is on file in the Washington office.

Volume II contains a bibliography of writings on American history during the year 1936, edited by Grace Gardner Griffin and associates.

Volume III contains instructions of the British foreign secretaries to their envoys in the United States, 1791-1812, edited by Bernard Mayo.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ, *Editor*.

To the SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.

¹ See the *Annual Report* for 1935, vol. I, p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 174 ff.

³ See pp. 15 ff.

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ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association is the national organization for the promotion of historical writing and studies in the United States. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was chartered by Congress. Its national character is emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the publication of its annual reports by the United States Government through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The membership of the Association, at present about 3,100, is drawn from every State in the Union as well as from Canada and South America. To all who desire to promote the development of history, local, national, or general, and to all who believe that a correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present, the Association makes a strong appeal through its publications and other activities.

MEETINGS

The meetings of the Association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so chosen as to accommodate in turn the members living in different parts of the country. Nearly 1,000 individuals attended the 1936 meeting, held in Providence. These gatherings afford an opportunity for members to become personally acquainted and to discuss matters of common interest.

PUBLICATIONS

The principal publications of the Association are the *Annual Report* and *The American Historical Review*. The former, usually in two volumes, is printed for the Association by the Government and is distributed free to all members who request it. It contains the proceedings of the Association as well as collections of documents, bibliographical contributions and reports on the activities of historical societies and other agencies, etc. *The American Historical Review* is the official organ of the Association and the recognized organ of the historical profession in the United States. It is published quarterly, each number containing about 225 pages. It presents to the reader authoritative articles, critical reviews of important new works on history, groups of unedited documents, and news of many and varied

activities in the field of history. The *Review* is indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of the progress of historical scholarship, and is of much value and interest to the general reader. It is distributed to all members of the Association in part return for their dues.

In addition to these periodical publications, the Association controls one fund, the capital of which is expended in the publishing of historical material, and two funds, the income from which is employed for the same purpose.

The *Carnegie Revolving Fund*, established by a grant of \$25,000 from the Carnegie Corporation in 1926 and supplemented by royalties as these are paid to the Association, has financed the publication of an average of two volumes a year since that time.

The *Albert J. Beveridge Fund* was established as a memorial to the late Senator Beveridge by his wife, Mrs. Catherine Beveridge, and a large group of his friends in Indiana. The principal of this fund amounts to just short of \$100,000, and the income therefrom is applied to the publication of material relative to the history of the United States, with preference to material relating to the period between 1800 and 1865.

The *Littleton-Griswold Fund* was established by Mrs. Alice Griswold as a memorial to her father, William E. Littleton, and her husband, Frank T. Griswold. The principal of this fund amounts to \$25,000, the income from which is applied to the publication of material relative to the legal history of the United States.

PRIZES

The *George Louis Beer Prize* is offered annually for the best work upon "any phase of European international history since 1895." The income from Mr. Beer's bequest has been added to the principal in those years when no award was made. During the fiscal year of the Association ending August 31, 1937, the income will amount to approximately \$240. Competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works in the English language actually submitted. A work may be submitted either in manuscript or print.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* was established by a bequest of the late Miss Mathilde M. Dunning. It amounts to \$200 and is awarded biennially, in the odd-numbered years, for monographs, either in print or in manuscript, on any subject relating to American history. In accordance with the terms of the bequest, competition is limited to members of the Association.

The *Justin Winsor Prize* in American history and the *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere are currently \$200 each. The Winsor prize is offered in the odd years, beginning in 1937, and the Adams prize in the even years. Either

prize may be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript. Competition is limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In awarding these prizes the committees in charge will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. They are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

Entries must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism, and must make a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—submitted for the Adams or Winsor prize should not exceed 100,000 words. There is no restriction respecting length in the case of manuscripts submitted for the Beer and Dunning prizes.

Works submitted in competition for the Beer and Dunning prizes must be in the hands of the proper committee on or before June 1 and those for the Adams and Winsor prizes on or before September 1 of the year in which the award is made. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must, in every case, fall within a period of 2½ years prior to the final entry date of the year in which the prize is awarded.

THE JUSSERAND MEDAL

The *Jusserand Medal*, established by the American Historical Association in honor of Jean Jules Jusserand, late ambassador from France to the United States and a former president of the Association, is awarded as occasion may arise for a published work of distinction on any phase of the history of the intellectual relations between the United States and any other country, written either by an American citizen or by a citizen of any other country. It is not limited to works in the English language.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

To the subject of history teaching the Association has devoted much and consistent attention through conferences held at the annual meetings, the investigations of committees and the preparation of reports. It sponsors *Social Education*, a leading professional journal of particular interest to teachers of the social sciences. A standing committee on history teaching gives constant attention to the vital part of the school curriculum.

RELATIONS WITH STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Association maintains close relations with the State and local historical societies through a conference organized under the auspices of the Association and holding a meeting each year in connection with the annual meeting of the Association. In this meeting of delegates the various societies discuss such problems as the collection and editing of historical material, the maintenance of museums and libraries, the fostering of popular interest in historical matters, the marking of sites, the observance of historical anniversaries, etc.

The proceedings of the conference are printed in the *Annual Report* of the Association.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

The Pacific coast branch of the Association, organized in 1904, affords an opportunity for the members living in the Far West to have meetings (held in the month of December in various cities on the Pacific coast) and an organization of their own while retaining full membership in the parent body. In 1915 the Association met with the branch in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto in celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

From the first the Association has pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the Association in the furtherance of its various objects. Thus the Association counts among its members lawyers, clergymen, editors, publishers, physicians, officers of the Army and Navy, merchants, bankers, and farmers—all of whom find material of special interest in the publications of the Association.

Membership in the Association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member, or by direct application. The annual dues are \$5, there being no initiation fee. The fee for life membership is \$100, which secures exemption from all annual dues.

CORRESPONDENCE

Inquiries respecting the Association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., should be addressed to the assistant secretary of the Association at 740 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

ACT OF INCORPORATION

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said Association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make bylaws not inconsistent with law. Said Association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said Association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said Secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said Association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, Jan. 4, 1889.]

CONSTITUTION ¹

I

The name of this society shall be the American Historical Association.

II

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III

Any person approved by the council may become a member by paying \$5 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$5. On payment of \$100 any person may become a life member exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV

The officers shall be a president, a first vice president, a second vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the bylaws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the council. They shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the council may determine.

If the office of president shall, through any cause, become vacant, the first vice president shall thereupon become president, and the second vice president shall become first vice president whenever the office of first vice president shall have been vacated.

V

There shall be a council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.
2. Elected members, eight in number, chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Association. At the election of 1931 the persons so elected shall be assigned to four equal classes, the members of which shall be elected to serve respectively for 1, 2, 3, and 4 years. Subsequent elections in each class shall be for 4 years, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the 3 years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI

The council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the Association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may

¹ As amended Dec. 29, 1933.

deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the Association. The Association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action directing the affairs of the Association as it may deem necessary and proper.

For the transaction of necessary business when the council is not in session, the council shall elect annually an executive committee of not more than six members which shall include the secretary and the treasurer, and may include not more than two persons not members of the council. Subject to the general direction of the council, the executive committee shall be responsible for the management of Association interests and the carrying out of Association policies.

The council, or when the council is not in session the executive committee, shall have authority to appoint an executive secretary, delegating to him such functions as may from time to time seem desirable and determining his compensation.

VII

There shall be a board of trustees, five in number, consisting of a chairman and four other members, nominated by the council and elected at the annual meeting of the Association. The trustees elected in 1931 shall serve, respectively, as determined by lot, for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 years. Subsequent elections shall be in all cases for 5 years, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. The board of trustees, acting by a majority thereof, shall have the power to invest and reinvest the permanent funds of the Association, with authority to employ such agents, investment counsel, and banks or trust companies as it may deem wise in carrying out its duties, and with further authority to delegate and transfer to any bank or trust company all its power to invest or reinvest; neither the board of trustees nor any bank or trust company to whom it may so transfer its power shall be controlled in its discretion by any statute or other law applicable to fiduciaries, and the liability of the individual members of the board and of any such bank or trust company shall be limited to good faith and lack of actual fraud or wilful misconduct in the discharge of the duties resting upon them.

VIII

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the council.

BYLAWS

I

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the Association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September, as it may determine, it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least 1 month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the Association at least 1 day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the Association as provided for in the present bylaw. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in bylaw II.

IV

The Association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the Association.

The council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the Association's business.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR 1936

POLL VOTES PASSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN 1936

Mailed May 23, 1936.—It was voted to approve the appointment of Erling M. Hunt as managing editor of *The Social Studies* for the current academic year and to assign to him a budget of \$10,000 a year for the fiscal year beginning August 31, 1936, the allocation of the items within the budget to be left to the discretion of the executive committee of *The Social Studies*.

It was voted to approve the sale of files of historical periodicals in the office of *The American Historical Review* to the American Philosophical Society for \$500, the freight charges from Washington to be paid by the American Philosophical Society.

It was voted to approve the sale of current numbers of historical periodicals as they come into the office of *The American Historical Review* to the American Philosophical Society for half price 6 months after delivery to the office of *The American Historical Review*.

Mailed June 1, 1936.—It was voted to approve the action of the executive secretary in spending \$20 for flowers sent to Mr. Tracy W. McGregor's funeral in the name of the American Historical Association.

Mailed June 5, 1936.—It was voted to approve of the appropriation of \$100 for the purpose of securing a critical estimate of the manuscript of the forthcoming *Bibliography of British History, 1715-89*, to be published under the joint auspices of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society, the rate of compensation to be 2½ cents for each of the 4,000 expected entries; and it was agreed that the selection of the experts to review the different sections be left to the discretion of the executive secretary.

VOTES PASSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN 1936

Meeting of February 29, 1936

It was voted to appoint the following to the executive board of *The Social Studies*: Erling M. Hunt, chairman; Conyers Read, secretary ex officio, Charles A. Beard, Phillips Bradley, Mrs. Margaret Koch, A. C. Krey, E. G. Payne, Donnal V. Smith, Ruth Wanger, Howard E. Wilson.

It was voted to appoint the following to the Board of Advisory Editors of *The Social Studies*: Robert I. Adriance, Julian C. Aldrich, Howard R. Anderson, Charles C. Barnes, Nelle E. Bowman, Mary E. Christy, J. Montgomery Gambrill, Harley S. Graston, Eugene Hilton, R. O. Hughes, Cecilia R. Irvine, George J. Jones, Horace Kidger, A. K. King, Jasper J. Stahl, Harrison C. Thomas, Rolla Milton Tryon, George F. Zook.

Acting upon instructions from the Council, the executive committee considered the expediency of establishing an employment bureau through which those seeking positions as teachers of history in colleges and universities, and those colleges and universities seeking to fill positions in history, might be served. It was voted that though desirable it was impracticable for the American Historical Association to undertake the establishment of such a bureau at this time.

It was voted that the report of the special committee appointed to nominate a managing editor of *The American Historical Review* for the term beginning July 1, 1936, be accepted; that the executive secretary be directed to express to the

committee the appreciation of the executive committee for their long and careful labor; and that steps should be taken to reorganize the management of *The American Historical Review* in accordance with the recommendations of this special committee.

The most important recommendations in the report of the special committee follow:

The special committee, comprising Messrs. Ford, Leland, Perkins, Read, and the undersigned (Carlton J. H. Hayes, chairman), have held several meetings and thoroughly canvassed the field.

* * * The committee have unanimously agreed to nominate Robert Livingston Schuyler, and he has been prevailed upon to assent to the nomination.

The appointment should be made for a 3-year term, beginning July 1, 1936. A suite of three offices, with appropriate office furniture, will be provided free of charge to the Association by Columbia University (rooms 744, 745, and 746 in the new library building, South Hall, with easy access to catalog and periodical rooms); * * * the post office address of the editorial offices will appear in print simply as 535 West One Hundred and Fourteenth Street, New York City.

It was voted that the executive secretary advise Mr. Bourne of the steps which had been taken to fill his position and express the gratitude of the Association for his long and careful services, and also express the gratitude of the Association to the secretary of Columbia University for the generous contribution by Columbia University of office accommodation for the editor of the *A. H. R.*

In view of the transfer of the office of the *Review* to New York City, it was voted (1) that a committee of three be appointed to canvass the possibilities of securing suitable offices in Washington at a reduced rental; (2) that the full-time services of Mrs. Pierce, the stenographer in the Washington office, be terminated July 1, 1936; (3) that the treasurer arrange with the assistant treasurer to secure such secretarial assistance thereafter as might be required in the office at Washington, the expenses for the same to be limited if possible to \$500 per annum.

It was voted that a committee of three, consisting of J. W. Swain, chairman, W. E. Caldwell, and T. A. Brady, be appointed to explore the possibilities of establishing a journal of ancient history, keeping in mind that the American Historical Association could assume no financial obligation connected with the establishment of such a journal.

It was voted that the recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission, that Congress appropriate money for a documentary publication relative to the ratification of the United States Constitution by the several States, be endorsed.

It was voted that a committee of two, consisting of Dixon Ryan Fox and Dumas Malone, be appointed to cooperate with Mr. Connor, National Archivist, and such others as they find it expedient to consult, in drafting an appropriate resolution to Congress on the subject.

It was voted that the executive secretary be desired to canvass the possibilities of a popular magazine of history and its financial support.

Meeting of August 8, 1936

It was voted to approve the suggestion of Robert L. Schuyler, managing editor of the *A.H.R.*, that the title of the editorial assistant on the *Review* be altered to assistant editor.

It was voted to approve such changes as Mr. Schuyler might wish to make, in his discretion, in the Historical News section of the *Review*, provided that the total expenditures for the *Review* be kept within the budget.

It was voted to approve the action of the executive secretary in presenting to the Union Académique Internationale a copy of S. F. Bemis's book on *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*.

It was voted to refer to the editors of *The Guide to Historical Literature* the question as to the desirability of the reissue of that publication at a reduced price, and it was voted that if such an issue were approved the Association should continue to receive 15 percent of the new retail price in royalties in accordance with the original contract.

It was voted to reestablish the Winsor and Adams prizes beginning with the year 1937 and to make announcement of this decision at the annual meeting in December.

It was voted that notice be given in due time of the termination of the contract of the Association with the McKinley Publishing Co. with regard to the magazine *The Social Studies*, such contract to terminate on December 31, 1936.

It was voted to authorize the executive committee of the magazine *The Social Studies* to enter into a new contract running from January 1 to the end of the fiscal year of the Association providing for the publication of a magazine similar to that issued under the name *The Social Studies*, and for an arrangement which might lead to financial independence.

It was voted that the executive committee of *The Social Studies* report to the executive committee of the Association with regard to the terms of such a contract.

It was voted that in the making of any new contract adequate care be taken to define the constitutional position of the magazine in its relation to the American Historical Association and that some estimate be submitted to the executive committee of the probable receipts and expenditures for the period of the contract.

It was voted to approve a budget of \$3,300 for *The Social Studies* covering the period September 1 to December 31, 1936.

It was voted to reaffirm to the editor of *The Social Studies* the engagement already taken by the executive committee that funds in the same proportion should be available for the period January 1 to August 31, 1937.

It was voted to affirm the appointment of Erling M. Hunt as editor of *The Social Studies* until January 1, 1937.

It was voted that there should be allotted to Miss Patty W. Washington for assistance in the conduct of the office in Washington the precise sum of \$500 for the budgetary year September 1, 1936, to August 31, 1937.

It was voted that the minutes of the executive committee be so drawn and considered as to be a record of the action of the committee and that the secretary where necessary prepare a memorandum with pertinent material supplementing these minutes, three copies of which should be laid upon the table of the council at its meetings.

It was voted to authorize expenditures from unexpended balances available on August 31 for the meetings of the executive committee and the council of the Association and to approve the expenditures made for these meetings.

Meeting of November 21, 1936

It was voted that the American Historical Association accept with thanks the grant of the McGregor fund amounting to \$14,775 for the calendar year 1937 for carrying on the program of the committee on Americana for college libraries, and that it assume full responsibility for the carrying on of the work of the committee in general accordance with the plans of the late Mr. Tracy W. McGregor so long as adequate funds are placed at its disposition for the purpose.

It was voted that the executive secretary transmit the above resolution to the trustees of the McGregor fund, and at the same time express the thanks of the Association to the trustees for their generous support of a very important project.

It was voted that Kathryn L. Slagle be appointed a member of the committee on Americana for college libraries.

It was voted that the committee on Americana for college libraries shall consist of seven members, appointed by the council to serve for 4 years; that the following members be appointed: Randolph G. Adams, William W. Bishop, J. Franklin Jameson, Leonard L. Mackall, Conyers Read, Kathryn L. Slagle, Lawrence C. Wroth; and that of these the terms of two shall end January 1, 1938, two January 1, 1939, two January 1, 1940, and one January 1, 1941, the order of retirement to be determined by lot, and their places be filled either by reappointment or in such wise as the council shall determine.

It was voted that Randolph G. Adams be appointed chairman of the committee on Americana for college libraries and Kathryn L. Slagle secretary for the year 1937, and that thereafter the chairman and the secretary of the committee shall be selected from among its members by the committee.

It was voted that the headquarters of the committee on Americana for college libraries for the year 1937 shall be in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Mich., and that after 1937 the headquarters of the committee shall be fixed by the committee.

It was voted that the chairman of the committee on Americana for college libraries shall be director of the plan and shall receive an annual compensation of \$2,500 from the funds provided for the plan.

It was voted that the secretary of the committee on Americana for college libraries shall be the assistant director of the plan and shall receive an annual compensation of \$2,000.

It was voted that money granted to the Association for uses of the committee on Americana for college libraries shall be expended in accordance with an annual budget submitted by the committee and approved by the council of the Association, and that the committee shall submit to the treasurer of the Association at the close of the fiscal year an audited account of its expenditures.

With reference to the magazine *The Social Studies*, heretofore published for the American Historical Association by the McKinley Publishing Co., the executive secretary outlined the history of the negotiations with the McKinley Publishing Co. and presented a draft contract of a new publishing agreement with the American Book Co. It was voted to accept the draft contract for the American Historical Association.

The executive secretary also submitted an outline for an agreement between the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. It was voted to approve the outline in principle.

It was voted, the finance committee concurring, to appropriate to *The Social Studies* from the unexpended balance standing to the credit of the commission on the social studies \$200 for counsel fees.

It was voted to approve an amendment of the budget for *The Social Studies* for the period September 1 to December 31, 1936, decreasing the budget appropriation from \$3,300 to \$3,200; and to approve an amendment of the budget for the period January 1 to August 31, 1937, increasing the budget from \$6,600 to \$6,700; the net result being no increase for the budget for the year but simply a reallocation of funds as set forth in detail in a letter from the managing editor to the executive secretary dated November 17, 1936, on file in the office of the executive secretary.

It was voted to make the following appointments to the executive board of the new magazine to be edited by the American Historical Association instead of *The Social Studies*: Erling M. Hunt, Chairman, Conyers Read, secretary, Charles A. Beard, Phillips Bradley, Margaret A. Koch, E. George Payne, Donnal V. Smith, Ruth Wanger. In accordance with an agreement with the National Council for the Social Studies, the executive committee of the American Historical Association invites the National Council for the Social Studies to appoint two other members to this executive board.

It was voted to approve recommendations for the detailed management of the magazine submitted by Mr. Hunt in a letter to the executive secretary dated November 18, 1936, which is on file in the executive secretary's office.

It was voted to instruct the managing editor to return to the treasurer of the American Historical Association before February 1, 1937, unexpended balances of the appropriations for *The Social Studies* and its predecessor, *The Historical Outlook*, for the period prior to January 1, 1937, and to instruct him to return thereafter any unexpended balance of the appropriation for the magazine within 30 days of the end of the fiscal year.

It was voted to request the managing editor to submit financial statements to the treasurer of the American Historical Association quarterly.

It was voted (the finance committee concurring) that the sum of \$535 to be received from the American Philosophical Society for the sale of old files of reviews be earmarked for augmenting the current funds available for the *Review*, and the executive secretary was directed to confer with the managing editor as to the application of so much of this money as might be necessary to current expenses. The allocation was left to the discretion of the executive secretary, but it was suggested that the funds in question might serve for 2 years, and it was definitely agreed that the salary of the managing editor should not be reduced below \$2,500 and the salary of the assistant editor not below \$2,400.

It was voted that the executive secretary retain in his own balance \$100 of an unexpended balance as of August 31, 1936, of \$289.81, representing accumulations from his annual appropriation, and that he return \$189.81 to the treasurer with the request that the amount in question be earmarked for the necessary expenses of the executive committee.

It was voted that the executive secretary inform Henry P. Beers, of Washington, D. C., that although the executive committee was in complete sympathy with the project, it had no funds available at this time to grant him a subvention to enable him to publish a bibliography of bibliographies of United States history.

It was voted that the \$2,000 raised or to be raised by the radio committee for the preparation of historical material for an experimental history broadcast along the lines laid down in the preliminary report of the radio committee published in *Radio and Education* for 1934 should be placed at the disposal of the executive secretary and expended at his discretion, an accounting of the same to be rendered at the end of the experiment.

It was voted that the executive secretary advise J. Neilson Barry that the executive committee took the same position in the matter of his request relative to Oregon history as had been set forth in a letter of the executive secretary to Mr. Barry dated September 30, 1936.

It was voted to request the treasurer that the small sum of money, probably not in excess of \$5, needed to prepare a photostatic reproduction of *Writings* for 1908 to facilitate the work of Mr. Matteson on the Cumulative Index be paid from the balance standing to the credit of the Cumulative Index in the treasury of the Association.

It was voted to appoint the following to an advisory committee to assist the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission: Carl Wittke, chairman, Beverley Bond, Randolph G. Adams, Theodore C. Blegen, Logan Esarey, Theodore C. Pease, and Joseph Schafer.

It was voted that the secretary of the Association poll the members of the council upon the recommendation of the executive committee that the November meeting of the council be dispensed with if possible and that the council meet at Providence one day before the annual meeting of the Association.

With reference to the *Bibliography of British History, 1715-89*, a joint enterprise of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain and the American Historical

Association, the executive secretary was directed to transmit to the secretary of the Royal Historical Society such criticisms as he had received upon sections of the bibliography submitted in manuscript for review by American scholars and to tender the like services of the American Historical Association upon any other sections submitted.

In answer to a request from Charles Scribner's Sons, the executive secretary was directed to state that the executive committee did not deem it expedient for the American Historical Association to take any formal action designed to correct current misconceptions about the volume entitled *Are American Teachers Free?*

It was voted to approve the appointment by the executive secretary of the following delegates: Thomas J. Wertenbaker, American Historical Association representative at the Fourth Anglo-American Conference of Historians, held in London in July, 1936; William R. Smith, American Historical Association delegate at the Fortieth Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in Philadelphia in April 1936.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE PROVIDENCE-BILTMORE HOTEL, PROVIDENCE, R. I., DECEMBER 28-29, 1936

The meeting was called to order at 10:15 a. m. the first day and at 10 a. m. the second day by president McIlwain; president McIlwain in the chair. Present: J. F. Jameson, Dumas Malone, Frederick Merk, William F. Westermann, the secretary of the Association, and the executive secretary. Julian P. Bretz, R. D. W. Connor, Wallace Notestein, and Bessie L. Pierce joined the council during its session.

Upon motion the reading of the minutes of the meetings of the executive committee during the year 1936 was dispensed with.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Upon motion the draft of the annual report of the executive secretary was approved, and it was ordered printed in the April number of the *Review* with such minor corrections as had been suggested by Dr. Jameson and with the inclusion of such committee reports as had been received after it was drafted.

FUTURE MEETINGS

It was voted to recommend to the annual meeting that the annual meeting for 1938 should be held at Chicago. It was decided to recommend to the annual meeting that the meeting should be held in 1937 on the last 3 days of the year, but the council decided to rescind its action taken at the annual meeting December 27-28, 1935, supporting a general policy of holding all annual meetings on the last 3 days of the year.

Invitations to meet at Milwaukee and at Baltimore in future years were read before the council and ordered filed for future reference.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

In the absence of the treasurer, the report of the finance committee¹ was submitted by the executive secretary. He called attention to the recommendation of the treasurer as printed on pages 3 and 5 of his printed report,² in which the treasurer showed himself to be definitely opposed to the practice of setting up budgets for different departments of the Association's activities and turning over

¹ Consisting of the secretary of the council, the executive secretary and the treasurer (*Annual Report* for 1935, I, p. 76).

² See pp. 22, 24.

the detailed management of the funds appropriated to the individual activities to the officers or committees in charge of them. After some discussion it was resolved that the council proceed to the consideration of detailed matters of finance on the agenda on the basis of the present autonomous plan of financing, leaving the general consideration of continuing the present method or of establishing a more centralized system for some later meeting when the experience and desires of the new treasurer might be available for the council.

The report of the finance committee, including budgetary estimates for the fiscal years 1936-37 and 1937-38, was, in the absence of the treasurer, read before the council by the executive secretary. The report was accepted with the following changes:

Royalties—estimated receipts, 1937-38, reduced from \$200 to \$75.

The American Historical Review—estimated expenditures, 1937-38, increased to \$6,500.

Rent, supplies, and miscellaneous—office of secretary and treasurer—estimated expenditures, 1936-37, reduced to \$600.

Committee on historical source material—estimated expenditures, 1937-38, reduced to \$175.

The American Historical Review.—Upon motion it was resolved that the \$535 secured from the sale of periodical files belonging to the office of the *Review* should be turned over to the editor of the *Review* to meet current expenses for the year beginning September 1, 1936, thus increasing his budgetary allowance for that year to \$6,535. It was further resolved that the budget for *The American Historical Review* for the year beginning September 1, 1937, should be increased to \$6,500.

The council discussed the question of the 10-year index to the *Review*, work upon which had been temporarily suspended because of lack of resources. The council expressed its opinion that the completion of the work on this 10-year index was very important and directed the executive secretary to transmit to the editor of the *Review* the urgent desire of the council that every effort should be made to complete the index.

"*Social Education*."—Upon motion it was resolved that the balance standing to the credit of the Commission on the Social Studies and all royalties, accrued or to accrue, from the sale of the published volumes of the Commission on the Social Studies should be definitely earmarked for the purposes of the magazine *Social Education*.

It was voted that \$100 be appropriated for legal expenses incurred in connection with the reorganization of *Social Education* and the same be added to the current budget for *Social Education*.

It was resolved that Erling M. Hunt be named editor of *Social Education* and that he be authorized to deposit in the Corn Exchange Bank Trust Co., University Branch, Broadway and One Hundred and Thirteenth Street, New York City, and to draw checks as editor of *Social Education* instead of as editor of *The Social Studies*.

It was further resolved that Erling M. Hunt, as editor of *Social Education*, be authorized to open an account in the Corn Exchange Bank Trust Co., University Branch, Broadway and One Hundred and Thirteenth Street, New York City, in the name of "*Social Education—Advertising Account*" and to make deposits and draw checks for this account.

Americana plan.—It was resolved that any unexpended balance standing to the credit of the committee on *Americana* for college libraries at the end of any fiscal year should not revert to the treasury of the Association but should be reserved for later use by the committee on *Americana*.

General management of funds.—Upon motion the treasurer as chairman of the finance committee was instructed to join with his colleagues on the committee in

preparing a budget for the Association annually, said budget to be distributed to the council not later than October 15 of each year with any pertinent comments.

The council discussed at some length the question of restricting participation in the entertainments at the annual meeting to those who had paid their registration fee. Upon motion this whole question was referred to the executive committee with power.

It was resolved that a definite appropriation having been made for the expenses of the annual meeting, those who controlled the expenditures should be enjoined to keep definitely within the limits of the appropriation.

A long discussion followed on the possibilities of greater economies in the administration of the Association. Some dissatisfaction was expressed at the maintenance of two separate offices with pay rolls aggregating approximately \$3,000 in each office. Upon motion it was resolved that the whole question of the central administration of the American Historical Association be placed upon the agenda for the next meeting of the council, and that the council be invited at that time to consider the wisdom either of consolidating the two offices or else of modifying the salary scale.

In the interest of economy it was also resolved that the meeting of the council in November should be dispensed with and that the council should meet instead the day before the annual meeting.

It was voted that the secretary of the council express to Constantine E. McGuire on behalf of the council its sense of appreciation of the unselfish service which Dr. McGuire had rendered as treasurer of the Association since 1929, and its regret at his withdrawal from that office.

"SOCIAL EDUCATION"

The action of the executive committee in entering into a contract with the American Book Co. for the publication of the magazine *Social Education* was upon motion formally approved by the council.

The action of the executive committee in entering into an agreement with the National Council for the Social Studies regarding the administration and control of the magazine *Social Education* was upon motion formally approved by the council.

AMERICANA PLAN

The arrangements made by the executive committee for the perpetuation of this plan under the oversight and control of the American Historical Association was laid before the council. It was voted that the council of the American Historical Association express itself as in full accord with the action of the executive committee taken at the meeting of that body November 21, 1936, with regard to the assumption by the American Historical Association of responsibility for the carrying forward of the Americana plan, heretofore supported by the late Tracy W. McGregor, and that the executive secretary be directed to advise the trustees of the McGregor fund accordingly.

RADIO COMMITTEE

The development of the plans of the radio committee for an experimental history broadcast in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System was laid before the council and sympathetically considered but no formal action was taken.

COMMISSION ON HISTORY, COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATION BOARD

The attention of the council was directed to the fact that the final report of the commission on history was now in print and being widely circulated throughout the country. No formal action was taken.

THE UNION LIBRARY CATALOG OF THE PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA

The progress of this important enterprise was reported to the council. Sympathetic interest was displayed but no formal action was taken.

PUBLICATION POLICY

Upon motion it was resolved that a committee of three be appointed with authority to determine the contents of the printed volume known as the *Annual Report* of the Association. The appointment of this committee was referred to the committee on appointments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1715–1800

Upon motion it was resolved that the president of the Association and the executive secretary be appointed a committee to confer with Professor Powicke, president of the Royal Historical Society, about this project without committing the council of the Association, and that the outcome of their conference be reported either to the council or, in the absence of the council, to the executive committee.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS

The report of this committee was laid before the council and the questions raised in this report were considered. Upon motion it was resolved that the questions raised by this committee be referred back to the committee and that it be invited to make specific recommendations for action by the council or, in the absence of the council, by the executive committee.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

Upon motion it was resolved that the unexpended balance remaining from the appropriation made to this committee for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1936, be reappropriated to the use of the committee. The executive secretary was directed to suggest to this committee that some plan of circularizing chairmen of the history departments of the leading universities in the United States be formulated so that they could promote among their younger colleagues and their graduate students the work of the committee on membership.

PRIZE COMMITTEES

The attention of the council was drawn to the fact that no prizes had been awarded by any of the prize committees this year. It was suggested that these prizes were not receiving sufficient publicity and that some action should be taken to bring them more forcibly to the attention of possible competitors. No formal action was taken.

"BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL"

The report of this committee was laid before the council and its recommendations considered. Upon motion it was resolved:

(1) That a general editorial committee of three members be appointed to maintain a general supervision and to secure a certain uniformity of treatment in the entire work.

(2) That this committee be given the authority to make the final selection of editors for each of the three periods.

(3) That this committee be given the authority to appoint a small board of advisory editors, in order to utilize the proffered services of scholars who will be of great assistance in dealing with the problems of the foreign travelers.

The council made the following appointments to the editorial committee contemplated above: *Chairman*: Frank Monaghan; *associate members*, Julian P. Boyd and Harry M. Lydenberg.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

At the December 27-28, 1935, meeting of the council the question of creating an employment bureau was discussed and referred to the executive committee with the request that the executive committee consider the matter and then submit recommendations to the council at its first meeting in 1936. The executive secretary reported that the matter had been considered at the February 29, 1936, meeting of the executive committee, and again at the November 21, 1936, meeting, but at both meetings it was decided that the creation of such a bureau was not practicable.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The council considered the recommendation of a special committee appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies at the 1935 annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies that "the constituent societies be requested to contribute toward the expenses of their secretaries in attending the meetings" of the American Council of Learned Societies, but no formal action was taken.

CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The question of an associate membership for historical societies suggested by the secretary of the conference was discussed, but no action was taken awaiting formal action by the conference.

NEW EDITION OF GROSS' "SOURCES AND LITERATURE ON ENGLISH HISTORY"

The secretary of the council was directed to draw up a letter supporting the request of the Mediaeval Academy of America for funds from the American Council of Learned Societies to finance a new edition of Gross. The secretary of the council was directed to incorporate in his letter the recommendation that W. E. Lunt be appointed editor and that the new edition be under American management.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

Prof. J. B. Lockey appeared before the council and requested the council to reverse its previous decision regarding appropriation to the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association. After very careful consideration the council decided not to reverse its action, partly on the grounds that it could not afford to continue subsidizing the Pacific coast branch, partly on the grounds that by establishing a continuing subsidy it would establish a precedent for similar requests from other regional organizations.

COMMITTEE ON APPOINTMENTS

The following nominations of the committee on appointments were approved. The chairman of each committee is the one named first:

Executive committee.—Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota; James P. Baxter III, Harvard University; Solon J. Buck, Washington, D. C., *ex officio*; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University; Wallace Notestein, Yale University; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, *ex officio*.

Board of trustees.—For chairman of the Board: Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York City. To fill the vacancy due to the death of Tracy W. McGregor and to serve through 1940: Stanton Griffis, 15 Broad Street,

New York City. To fill the vacancy due to the expiration of the term of Conyers Read and to serve through 1941: Jerome D. Greene, Harvard University.

Committee on appointments.—Frederick Merk, Harvard University; Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, *ex officio*; Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago; Conyers Read, 226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, *ex officio*.

Committee on program for 1937 meeting.—Walton H. Hamilton, Yale University, *chairman*, with power to select his associates. The council suggested that Mr. John H. Wuorinen, Columbia University, be named as secretary to the committee if agreeable to the chairman. The Council also voted that should Mr. Hamilton decline to serve as chairman, the secretary of the council and the executive secretary should be empowered to select an alternate.

Committee on local arrangements.—Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *secretary*, with power to select his associates.

Committee on Americana for college libraries.—The council confirmed the action of the executive committee taken November 21, 1936, as follows:

Resolved, That the committee on Americana for college libraries shall consist of seven members, appointed by the council to serve for 4 years; that the following members are hereby appointed: Randolph G. Adams (William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan), William W. Bishop (General Library, University of Michigan), J. Franklin Jameson (Library of Congress), Leonard L. Mackall (217 East Thirty-fourth Street, Savannah, Ga.), Conyers Read (226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia), Kathryn L. Slagle (William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan), Lawrence C. Wroth (John Carter Brown Library, Brown University); and that of these the terms of two shall end January 1, 1938, two January 1, 1939, two January 1, 1940, and one January 1, 1941, the order of retirement to be determined by lot, and their places shall be filled either by reappointment or in such wise as the council shall determine.

Board of Editors of "Social Education".—The council confirmed the appointments made by the executive committee November 21, 1936: Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, *chairman*; Conyers Read, 226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia, *secretary*; Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.; Phillips Bradley, Amherst College; Margaret A. Koch, Fieldston School, New York City; E. George Payne, New York University; Donnal V. Smith, State Teachers College, Albany; Ruth Wanger, South Philadelphia High School for Girls; with two members to be appointed by the National Council for the Social Studies.

Committee on the Carnegie revolving fund for publications.—John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin; Kent R. Greenfield, Johns Hopkins University; William E. Lunt, Haverford College; Asa E. Martin, Pennsylvania State College; Edward Whitney, Harvard University; with Edward Whitney for chairman if John D. Hicks should decline to serve.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge memorial fund.—Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur C. Cole, Western Reserve University; James G. Randall, University of Illinois.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold fund.—Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Charles M. Andrews, Yale University; Carroll T. Bond, 1125 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, Md.; Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York; Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York City; Charles Warren, Mills Building, Washington, D. C.

Committee on the radio.—Conyers Read, 226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia; Evelyn Plummer Braun, 125 Bleddyn Road, Ardmore, Pa.; Felix Greene, American representative of the British Broadcasting System; John A. Krout, Columbia University; Walter C. Langsam, Columbia University; Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System; Ralph S. Rounds, 165 Broadway, New York City; William Slater, Adelphi Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Elizabeth Y. Webb, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Jusserand medal committee.—Carl Wittke, Ohio State University; Ralph Haswell Lutz, Stanford University; Eloise Ellery, Vassar College.

John H. Dunning prize committee.—Lester B. Shippee, University of Minnesota; Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University; Ella Lonn, Goucher College.

George Louis Beer prize committee.—Eugene N. Anderson, American University; Ross J. S. Hoffman, New York University; Dwight E. Lee, Clark University.

Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee.—Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois; Leona C. Gabel, Smith College; Walter C. Langsam, Columbia University.

Justin Winsor prize committee.—James B. Hedges, Brown University; Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University; Caroline F. Ware, Vienna, Va.

Board of editors, "The American Historical Review".—William L. Langer, Harvard University, to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of Charles Seymour.

Committee on membership.—Raymond C. Miller, Wayne University; F. Lee Bennis, Indiana University; Gray C. Boyce, Princeton University; Max Savelle, Leland Stanford University; J. L. Sellers, University of Nebraska; Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga.

Committee on the "Bibliography of American Travel."—Frank Monaghan, Yale University; Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Harry M. Lydenberg, New York City Public Library.

Committee on historical source materials.—T. R. Schellenberg, The National Archives, Washington, D. C., *chairman*.

Subcommittee on public archives.—A. R. Newsome, University of North Carolina; Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University; Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Subcommittee on historical manuscripts.—Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia.

Conference of historical societies.—Christopher B. Coleman, State Library and Historical Building, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., *secretary*.

Committee on the contents of the "Annual Report."—J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, *chairman*, with power to select two associates.

Representatives of the American Historical Association in allied bodies: Social Science Research Council.—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; to succeed himself for a term of 3 years. *American Council of Learned Societies.*—W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University; for a term of 2 years. *International Committee of Historical Sciences.*—*Delegates:* Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies; William E. Dodd, the Embassy of the United States, Berlin, Germany. *Subcommittee on archives.*—Robert D. W. Connor, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. *Subcommittee on diplomatic history.*—Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University. *Subcommittee on chronology.*—John Lamonte, University of Cincinnati. *Subcommittee on historical iconography.*—Leicester Holland, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. *Subcommittee on historical geography.*—Charles O. Paullin, 1718 N Street NW., Washington, D. C. *Subcommittee on the "International Bibliography of Historical Sciences."*—Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies.

Upon motion the meeting adjourned at 6 p. m. the first day and at 5:35 p. m. the second day.

DEXTER PERKINS,
Secretary of the Association.

**PROGRAM OF THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN
PROVIDENCE, R. I. DECEMBER 29-31, 1936**

A running account of this meeting appears in *The American Historical Review* for April 1937.

The papers read on that occasion which have since been published, or for which publishing arrangements have been completed, are listed below:

Presidential address: Charles H. McIlwain, "The Historian's Part in a Changing World", published in *The American Historical Review*, January 1937, pp. 207 ff.

Alfred V. Kidder, "A Program for Maya Research", to be published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* for May 1937.

Alfred M. Tozzer, "Prehistory in Middle America", to be published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* for May 1937.

Alice M. Christensen, "Agricultural Pressure and Governmental Response in the United States, 1919-29", published in *Agricultural History*, January 1937, pp. 33 ff.

Guy A. Lee, "The Historical Significance of the Chicago Grain Elevator System", published in *Agricultural History*, January 1937, pp. 16 ff.

Rodney C. Loehr, "The Influence of English Agriculture on American Agriculture, 1775-1825", published in *Agricultural History*, January 1937, pp. 3 ff.

Matthew Spinka, "John Hus in the Light of Modern Research", to be published in *Church History* late in 1937.

Herbert Heaton, "Financing the Industrial Revolution", published in *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, February 1937, pp. 1 ff.

Penfield Roberts, "How Real is the Distinction Between Noblesse d'Epée and Noblesse de Robe?" will be incorporated in his forthcoming volume *The Cult of Stability: Europe 1715-1740* (Harper).

Harold A. Innis, "Economic Factors in the History of Canadian-American Relations", published as an introduction to *Dairying in Canada* (Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1937.)

Chester Martin, "The United States and Canadian Nationality", published in *The Canadian Historical Review*, March 1937, pp. 1 ff.

Harry R. Rudin, "The Labor Problem in German Kamerun", to appear as part of his forthcoming volume, *German Colonial Methods in Kamerun*.

Leona Baumgartner, "John Howard and the Public Health Movement", to be published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*.

Edgar E. Hume, "The History and Work of the Army Medical Library in Washington", published in *Science*, February 26, 1937, pp. 207 ff. Also to be published in an early issue of *The Diplomat*, Philadelphia, the monthly journal of the National Board of Medical Examiners.

Roy F. Nichols, Bernard De Voto, and John A. Krout, *An Appraisal of "The History of American Life" Series*, to be published in book form by the Appleton-Century Company.

Eva Matthews Sanford, "Contrasting Views of the Roman Empire", to be published in *The American Journal of Philology*.

Sterling Dow, "Athenian Allotment Machines", will be incorporated in his *Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councilors* (*Hesperia*, Supplement I), to be published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

William S. Ferguson, "The Salaminians of Sunium and the Heptaphylae" will be published in *Hesperia*.

R. W. G. Vail, "*Sabin's Dictionary: The Story of a Great Bibliographical Venture, 1868-1936*", to appear in either the *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* or its *News Sheet*.

L. C. Gray, "The Problems of Land-Use Adjustment in Relation to Their Historical Genesis", to be published in *Agricultural History*.

Howard B. Wilder, "Progress in Social Studies Textbooks", to appear in *Social Education* for May 1937.

Erling M. Hunt, "The Spirit and Letter of Scholarship", to appear in *Social Education* for May 1937.

Tyler Kepner, "History in the New Social Studies Curriculum: The Dilemma of the Secondary School Social-Studies Teacher", published in *Social Education*, February 1937, pp. 81 ff.

Everett E. Edwards, "The Historiography of Middle Western Agriculture", to be published in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Julius E. Warren, "History in the New Social Studies Curriculum: The Viewpoint of a Superintendent", published in *Social Education*, April 1937, pp. 251 ff.

Henry R. Viets, "New Light on Reverend Thomas Thacher's *A Brief Rule* (1677-78), the First Medical Document to be Published in This Country", published as an introduction to Thomas Thacher, *A Brief Rule to Guide the Common People of New England How to Order Themselves and Theirs in the Small Pocks, or Measles, 1677* (Bibliotheca Medica Americana, Vol. I), Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937.

Sanford V. Larkey, "Scientific Glossaries in Sixteenth Century English Books", published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*.

Norman L. Kilpatrick, "Rhode Island Libraries", abstracted in *News Sheet of the Bibliographical Society of America*, April 1, 1937.

Robert Redfield, "The Second Epilogue to Maya History", to be published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR 1936

The business meeting of the American Historical Association was held in the Faunce Theatre, Brown University, Providence, R. I., December 30, 1936, with President C. H. McIlwain presiding.

The meeting was called to order at 4:25 p. m.

The secretary of the Association presented a brief report.¹ He described the organization of the Association and outlined the publication program as carried on through its various committees.

The executive secretary described the work of the committee on radio, of the committee on Americana, of the College Entrance Examination Board, and of the committee engaged in preparing a union catalog of Philadelphia libraries.

The secretary of the council read the necrology for the year 1936. A special notice on Tracy McGregor was read by J. F. Jameson,² and one on James Harvey Robinson by the secretary of the council for Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes.³

The secretary of the council presented a resolution from the council recommending the Association meet in Chicago in the year 1938, on the last 3 days of the year. It was voted to accept the recommendation.

Some discussion followed as to the method of nominating the officers of the Association. It was moved by Prof. R. A. Newhall to dispense with the preliminary ballot sent out by the nominating committee. Mr. Waldo G. Leland moved to substitute a resolution requesting the council of the Association to study the procedure with regard to nominations, and report to the business meeting in 1937. The motion was adopted.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of officers. It was voted unanimously that the secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for the persons presented for the various offices by the nominating committee of the Association, and one each for Jerome D. Greene and Stanton Griffis, recommended by the council for election to the board of trustees. The secretary cast the ballot as instructed and declared the following officers elected:

President, Guy Stanton Ford; first vice president, Laurence M. Larson; second vice president, Frederic L. Paxson; secretary, Dexter Perkins; treasurer, Solon J. Buck; members of the council, Carl Wittke, Isaac J. Cox; members of the board of

¹ See pp. 17 ff.

² See pp. 20 ff.

³ See p. 21.

trustees, Jerome D. Greene, Stanton Griffis; nominating committee, J. Fred Rippy, *chairman*; M. E. Curti, Edgar E. Robinson, Violet Barbour, A. C. Krey.

The meeting adjourned at 5:35 p. m.

DEXTER PERKINS,
Secretary of the Association.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR 1936

In bringing you my report from the council for the year 1936, I wish to begin by some commentary on the organization of the Association. The opinion was expressed in our recent meeting that the members were insufficiently acquainted with the mechanism through which the Association operates. Permit me briefly to summarize the situation.

Down to the year 1928 the sole governing body of the Association was the council itself. But with the press of business it was necessary to create a small body, known as the executive committee, to make decisions when the council was not in session. This body was given a constitutional status in 1929. It consists of six members, two of whom must be members of the council itself, two of whom may be and usually have been chosen from outside, and two of whom are the secretary of the council and the treasurer. The membership of the committee undergoes constant change, but the element of continuity is provided for by the presence of the two officers just mentioned. Since the committee must be brought together relatively frequently as compared with the council, and since the resources of the Association are severely limited, it is necessary to choose the executive committee from a somewhat restricted geographical area. A large part of the business of the Association is transacted in this body. The council, however, usually representative of the varied sectional and cultural interests of the Association, remains the ultimate authority; it has retained the exclusive control over all committee appointments, as well as the right of review of the actions of the executive committee; and thus the interests of the Association in a wide and broad view of its varied problems has been safeguarded. In the 9 years during which the executive committee has existed, its decisions have only very rarely been reversed by superior authority; and at no time has there been any friction whatsoever in the relation of the two bodies.

Another important constitutional change which has taken place in the mechanism of the Association has been in the establishment of the office of the executive secretary, first as a full-time post, for the year 1933, and thenceforward as a part-time position. The executive secretary has been the principal administrative officer of the Association during the last 4 years, and those who are in a situation to observe the work of our society are ready to testify most warmly to the ability, energy, and devotion which Dr. Read has brought to his task. He has been at all times, in the making of all important decisions, in contact with the executive committee; and it is indeed to this body that he has brought his major problems for solution. On that body, I have said, two other officers with long tenure, the secretary of the council and the treasurer, assure that past experience and independent judgment of fiscal problems will have their due weight in the formation of policy.

There is one question of mechanism on which I should wish to say a word here, as a result of our recent discussions in the council. Our system of nominating for office is open to grave criticism. The number of ballots that is cast is disappointingly small, and has, I suspect, steadily grown smaller; the committee itself, owing to the restricted funds of the Association, never actually meets as a body; it nominates, not only the president, quite properly, but also the secretary of the council and the treasurer, who, as officers of the council, might with greater

propriety and knowledge, be selected by that body. The council has as yet taken no action to alter this situation; but it is one which gives real concern. Pending some modification of our constitutional provisions, I can only urge upon the members of the Association that they exercise the privilege of voting. The choice of the officers of the Association is in their hands; and through the nominating committee they can effectively determine the personnel of the council, as well as the choice of a president. If this present machinery continues to work as ineffectively as at present, a change would appear to be well within the possibilities.

There takes place this year an important change in our personnel with the resignation of Mr. McGuire as treasurer, under pressure of his many business interests. The council at its meeting of Monday last went on record by a unanimous vote in expression of its appreciation of the unselfish service which Mr McGuire has rendered during the last 7 years, at much sacrifice of time and effort, in watching over the financial interests of the Association.

Another important change in personnel comes about in the managing editorship of the *Review*. The members are acquainted with the generous and competent service which was given to it by Dr. Henry E. Bourne, its editor since 1929. The choice of Prof. Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia University, after a very careful canvassing of the field, gives us every hope for the future.

The Association now has a remarkable variety of publication activities. The publication of the *Annual Report* of the Association, discontinued in 1933 because of the suspension of the Government credit which made it possible, has now been resumed. The *Annual Report* for 1932 is published in a single volume, and those for 1933, 1934 and 1935, are consolidated in a second. We shall be able, therefore, to resume our work on an even keel and on a contemporary basis. The *Writings on American History* for 1932, 1933, and 1934 are expected to appear in print during 1937. The volume for 1935 will be compiled starting July 1937, a not undue delay in view of the practical difficulties in the way of assembling the material. We shall, in fact, be resuming our regular schedule next year. From the attitude of the House committee before which Dr. Jameson and the secretary of the council recently appeared to urge the continuance of our Government subvention, it appears likely that our request will be granted.

The cumulative index to the *Writings* is under way, under the able direction of Mr. Matteson. It is expected to be completed in about 2 years.

During the year 1936 the committee in charge of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund published three volumes: *Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-36*, by W. C. Binkley; *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-67*, by Lynn M. Case; and *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-65: Extracts from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, by S. Pargellis.

The project of Frank Monaghan embracing a collection of the papers of John Jay is over half finished and the manuscript is promised in the spring of 1937. The projects of H. C. Perkins (a collection of northern editorials on secession and war, 1861) and J. H. Easterby (the papers of R. F. W. Allston, a rice planter and politician of South Carolina) should appear soon thereafter. During the year the committee, upon the understanding that all editorial expenses would be borne by other agencies, also decided to print in its series a collection of the papers of James G. Birney.

During December of this year the committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund published a third volume of its *American Legal Records* series, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island*, edited by Dorothy S. Towle, with an introduction by Charles M. Andrews. Some progress has been made in preparing the way for later volumes in this series. It will be recalled that this series is being published directly by the American Historical Association through the office of the executive secretary.

The committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund Publications has published during the year *The Older Middle West*, by H. C. Hubbart, and *The Estates-General of 1789*, by M. B. Garrett. This brings the number of volumes published by the committee to 18. Two are now being printed: *The Organization of the British Customs System*, by Elizabeth G. Horn, and *A Life of Albert Gallatin Brown*, by Professor Ranck of Hood College. Three manuscripts are now under consideration by the committee: *A History of the Free City of Danzig*, by H. B. Foster, *The Overseas Dominions of France Since 1848*, by Professor Priestley, and *The Three Emperors' Alliance*, by John Hunsiker.

The activities of this committee are dependent on three factors: the funds at its disposal, the material submitted, and the requirements demanded by the committee. The first is unexpectedly favorable. The publication expense of the two volumes brought out this year was \$2,346.12, and the administrative expense of the committee \$68.93. Toward the publication expense of one volume the American Council of Learned Societies contributed \$750. The income from royalties during the last fiscal year, September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, was \$1,742.94. There was also some income from interest on the fund. A grant of £50 was made this last year by the publication fund of the University of London toward the expense of Miss Horn's book.

As to the second factor, only the three manuscripts reported above have been actually presented. The chairman of the committee feels that the committee might well receive, and publish if satisfactory in quality, a larger number of volumes. It seems hardly normal that a restricted fund of this kind should remain unexhausted after 8 years. It would be better, all else being favorable, that this fund should be entirely depleted, leaving only the strictly revolving portion and such special grants as may be made. By these means probably two volumes a year, possibly three, might be published indefinitely.

A committee of three with Mr. Frank Monaghan of Yale as chairman and Mr. Harry M. Lydenberg of the New York Public Library and Mr. Julian P. Boyd of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as associates was appointed by the executive committee at its meeting March 30, 1935, to carry forward the work on the *Bibliography of Travel* begun by Mr. Solon J. Buck. This committee has found it wise to accept as a terminal date the year 1860, and has divided the field before that date into three periods, the first ending at 1750, the second at 1830. It has induced the Huntington Library to undertake the preparation of the first period, and has induced Mr. Michael Kraus of the College of the City of New York to assume editorial responsibility for the third period. It has not yet found an editor for the middle period, which is, however, the one upon which Mr. Buck did most of his work and which consequently is well advanced.

The committee on historical source materials was appointed by the council at the annual meeting in 1935, on the recommendation of the special committee appointed by the executive council on December 2, 1934, to consider the relationship of the A. H. A. to the whole problem of documentary publications and of National, State, local and private archives, and to make specific recommendations to the council; and to consider, formulate, and present plans for a Nation-wide survey of archival material which might be made the basis for an appeal to the foundations.

The efforts of this committee during the past year have been largely directed to cooperation with various W. P. A. projects designed to survey Federal, State, and local archives and miscellaneous collections of historical manuscripts. In a great many instances members of the committee have assisted these projects and in part directed them. The result has been that the committee has not only rendered an admirable report on the scope and progress of these various projects, but has also pointed out in what respect they need to be supplemented

and has raised many pertinent questions as to how the results of them may best be utilized.

Through the energetic efforts of Professor Lybyer, funds have been secured for the reestablishment of the Justin Winsor and Herbert B. Adams Prizes, for the period of the next 5 years. It is earnestly hoped that the existence of the Winsor Prize, which will be awarded in 1937, may become generally known to young scholars, and that there will be a real competition for the prize itself. The members of the Association may all do something to secure wider publicity for this activity of the Association.

Of the other activities of the Association, of which he has especial and first-hand knowledge, the executive secretary will speak to you.

I believe, however, that no report on historical activities during the year 1936 ought to omit mention of the completion of the work in which this Association has had the greatest interest, and in which its members have played so large and distinguished a part. I allude, of course, to the *Dictionary of American Biography*. No work of equal importance in the field of cooperative historical scholarship has ever been undertaken and carried through on this side of the Atlantic. To the editors of the *New York Times*, who made the work possible, to the American Council of Learned Societies, which so efficiently sponsored it, to the advisory committee which assisted the editors, and to Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, who administered with rare discretion, judgment, and capacity this momentous undertaking, the Association, I am confident, pays tribute.

DEXTER PERKINS,
Secretary of the Association.

TRACY WILLIAM MCGREGOR

Tracy William McGregor, who for the past 5 years had been a trustee of the American Historical Association, and a deeply interested member of the society, died in Washington on May 6, 1936, at the age of 67. Circumstance invested him with much wealth; nature formed him for a life of benefaction. His years, until the last 5, were spent in Detroit, partly in business, still more in good works, culminating in the founding of the McGregor Fund, a large fund for charities and public welfare, established by him in 1925 and increased by Mrs. McGregor. It may fairly be said that, in all matters concerning charity and the general welfare, he was the foremost citizen of Detroit, whose generosity and public spirit were always guided by careful and prudent thought and exercised abundantly, but quietly and with modest reserve.

During the last 5 years of his life he resided in Washington, interesting himself chiefly in the building up of his remarkable collection of rare Americana, which at the time of his death was by way of becoming one of the great collections. It was characteristic of Mr. McGregor that he could not be content to have only the collector's enjoyment of such possessions. Having derived so much pleasure and inspiration from them himself, his mind turned instinctively toward the possibility of giving to others, especially to young students, the opportunity of similar enjoyment and profit. Accordingly, after consultation with members of this Association and the formation of an advisory committee, he instituted what is now known as the McGregor Plan, devoting many thousands of dollars to the purchase of rare Americana for college libraries which were not already well provided with such material and which were in a position to cooperate effectively in the enterprise.

Mr. McGregor was a man of singular beauty of character, perfectly and actively unselfish, courteous and kind, gentle and almost grave in demeanor, cultivated in mind, modest but firm in judgment. It compels one to think more hopefully of our country, that the possessor of one of our large fortunes

should be a man of such evident and attractive goodness, and should so naturally devote his wealth to the public good, with thoughtful regard to both charitable and cultural interests.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

The American Historical Association records its sense of loss in the death of its former member and president, James Harvey Robinson.

Born in Bloomington, Ill., in 1863, Robinson's boyhood influences were those of the more generous elements of the New England tradition, and he was encouraged to indulge his taste for scholarship and science. At Harvard University, from which he graduated, A. B. in 1887 and A. M. in 1888, he turned definitely to history under the special tutelage of the late Prof. Ephraim W. Emerton.

After 2 years of study in German universities, Robinson took his Ph. D. at Freiburg in 1890, choosing as the subject for his dissertation the German Bundesrath. On his return from Germany in 1891, he was appointed lecturer on European history in the University of Pennsylvania, and next year was promoted to the grade of assistant professor. With Professor Cheyney and other colleagues, he began that significant series of "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History", and in collaboration with Professor Rolfe he published a work on Petrarch. Called to a chair of history at Columbia University in 1895, he held that position until 1919 and did his chief work in it. From 1919 to 1921 he was identified with the New School for Social Research, and from 1921 he had been living in retirement. He died suddenly in New York on February 16, 1936.

During his early years at Columbia, Robinson's chief courses were those which dealt with the French Revolution and the Protestant Revolt. In both, he concentrated upon the antecedent intellectual conditions rather than upon the dramatic details of the crises. In his seminars of those years he gave numerous graduate students a meticulous training in historical method and an example of enlivening exposition. Later years increasingly developed the teacher in Robinson, and also the popularizer. His textbooks of European history were, more than any others, instrumental in reforming the teaching of history in American schools and colleges. His conception of the New History, delightfully expressed in a volume of essays, at once registered and speeded the growing reaction against the narrowly political history of the nineteenth century and in favor of the more broadly intellectual and cultural history of the eighteenth. But to the lasting regret of all those who studied with him, it was left to others to bring out in their works the outlines of the intellectual history which formed the background of his most famous course and work at Columbia. As for himself, as the years passed, he grew to be a detached observer of what he whimsically insisted upon regarding as the great human comedy.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER, OCTOBER 31, 1936

Inasmuch as this is the sixth and last report of the undersigned treasurer of the Association, he deems it reasonable briefly to review the financial history of the Association since December 30, 1930, when he was charged with the duties of this office.

At that time the Association faced a deficit for the ensuing fiscal period. Membership was declining in number and the tendency on the part of the members to allow the payment of annual dues to wait far into the year to which they corresponded was becoming more common. The undersigned proposed at the outset to change the fiscal period of the Association so that more time might be given for adequate consideration by its governing body—the council—of the financial needs of the Association. In due course, this change was brought about.

The present practice of the council is to map out the financial program of the Association for the 12 months beginning on September 1 next following the annual meeting. In other words, the council undertakes to settle the major financial problems of the Association approximately 8 or 9 months prior to the commencement of its fiscal year. At the close of this report, reference will again be made to the time which the council devotes to the financial problems of the Association.

A number of administrative modifications were then introduced by the undersigned treasurer, such as the requirement of a standard voucher for all disbursements by officers or committees of the Association.

The receipts and expenditures of the Association have continued to be audited by an auditing firm of recognized standing and repute. The practice of regular audit has been extended to such funds as were under the more or less direct control of the Association; but the officers of the Association have so far been of the view—which is not shared by the treasurer—that it is sufficient to have committees of members of the Association supervise the audits of autonomous or allied entities over which the Association has some vaguely defined financial supervision. It is the recommendation of the retiring treasurer that the American Historical Association adopt a precise rule in this matter to the effect that every dollar spent by any organization for which the council of this Association has even a shred of remote responsibility, shall be subjected to professional scrutiny at the close of the fiscal period during which the expenditure was made. Any other practice contributes to slovenly and incomplete records and may eventually expose the council of the Association to criticism.

During these 6 years, the Association has displayed considerable activity and consequently its expenditures have grown. In the table below will be found the income and outgo of the Association for the period under review.

	1931	1932	1933 (9 months)	1934	1935	1936
Income ¹	\$28,460.36	\$27,705.71	\$26,202.40	\$31,075.16	\$27,518.63	\$22,547.30
Expenditure.....	29,310.27	26,508.30	27,036.27	28,786.02	24,805.38	26,940.99

¹ Gifts for endowment fund or special funds are not included.

The income of the Association is derived chiefly from annual dues. There are miscellaneous minor sources and there are occasional gifts. In order that the members of the Association may realize that the income of the Association would not in itself have sufficed to make head against the growing expenditure, a second table is submitted, wherein appears a break-down of the income so as to show the important part played by the gifts of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to maintain at first a full-time and later a part-time executive officer to carry on the correspondence of the Association, to coordinate the work of its committees and to effectuate those decisions and policies of the council and its executive committee which do not fall within the competence of other officers.

	1931	1932	1933 (9 months)	1934	1935	1936
Income:						
Dues.....	\$15,200.00	\$11,793.28	\$8,048.87	\$11,142.04	\$12,620.61	\$12,764.97
Registration fees.....	330.00	441.00	351.31	452.00	663.12	474.00
All other items (including the <i>Review</i>).....	12,930.36	12,471.43	8,802.22	15,981.12	10,734.90	9,308.33
Gifts from Carnegie Cor- poration for adminis- trative expenses.....		3,000.00	9,000.00	3,500.00	3,500.00	

But it has also to be borne in mind that no small part of the expense of the council's committees in holding meetings and the like during certain years has been borne by the funds originally entrusted to the administration of the Association for the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. It was the hope of this treasurer to present during his term of office a comprehensive financial picture of the expenditures of that fund. Inasmuch as all the publications sponsored by the commission have not yet appeared, the financial survey of the commission must be left to his successor.

When the present treasurer took office, it was his belief that the composition of the portfolio of the Association's investments should be changed materially. Believing as he did that a prolonged period of decline in price levels and Nationwide insolvency and distress lay ahead, it was his wish to liquidate a large part of the bonds held in the endowment fund of the Association and to purchase in their place bonds of the United States Government. Naturally, the aspect of revenue could not be overlooked and the treasurer endeavored in 1931 to find certain stronger railroad, utility, and industrial bonds in which nongovernmental holdings might be concentrated, and from which average returns in the neighborhood of 5 percent could reasonably be expected so long as the economic situation of the Nation were held anywhere short of total break-down. A majority of the other officers of the Association and of the finance committee designated by the council in its meeting of December 1930, could not see the situation in the same way. It was their belief that the sale of securities paying 4 or 5 percent or more, to be followed by the purchase of United States Government bonds paying less than 4 percent, would represent an unnecessary surrender of income. They contended that the fact that public issues were largely free of taxation could have no bearing in the case of the Association, which is itself exempt from income tax of any sort. The treasurer, however, felt that the chances favored the gradual appreciation, well above par, of United States Government bonds during several years at least and he emphasized the importance of conservation of principal for any continuing organization or society. The treasurer finds it interesting to note that the Government bonds which he would have purchased, had he not discontinued his program of reorganization of the portfolio in deference to the views of the majority of persons having to do with the affairs of the Association at that time, have commanded prices as high as 114 to 118 during 1936. If one-third of the portfolio of the Association had been invested as the treasurer is on record as having recommended in 1931, the capital value of the sum so invested must have shown a corresponding appreciation by the spring of 1936, adequately balancing the shrinkage in market value of other securities in the portfolio acquired prior to 1930.

Carrying out a recommendation that had been made prior to the election of the present treasurer, the Association amended its constitution definitively at its meeting in Minneapolis in December 1931, creating a board of trustees. That board has presented to the council brief reports from time to time, and pursuant to action taken by the council in December 1935, a formal written report will now and hereafter appear in the same pamphlet in which is submitted the report of the treasurer and the auditor. A report of the chairman of the board of trustees of the Association, therefore, accompanies the present treasurer's final report.¹

It will be apparent to the members of the Association that the income of the Association is not sufficient normally to meet its present program of expenditure. Either a material increase in the endowment of the Association, or a great expansion in the number of its members must take place if the Association is to avoid a deficit. There is, of course, one other alternative, namely, the curtailment of expenditure.

¹ See pp. 31 ff.

One of the principal objectives of the present treasurer has been the consolidation of the accounts of this society. Having been concerned for a quarter century with the astonishing spectacle of the fashion in which public finances are administered the world over, the undersigned could not fail, from the very outset of his occupancy of the treasurership, to emphasize the necessity of a simple balance of income and outgo, in order to know whether the patrimony of the society was being conserved or gradually eaten up. His closing recommendation, therefore, like the first recommendation made upon assuming office, will be that the Association maintain the essential unity of its financial accounts and steer clear of the evil practice of creating autonomous budgets, separate disbursing offices, subsidiary accounts and the like.

It will help the treasurer of the Association materially in carrying out this endeavor if the full council will see its way clear to meet not only toward the end of November and during the annual meeting of the Association, but at least once each spring; and all the financial problems of endowment budget policy and the like could receive at least initial attention from the Association's sole legislative body far better if the latter met once each spring and thus avoided the great congestion of business of the November and December meetings.

CONSTANTINE E. MCGUIRE,

Treasurer.

Statement of receipts and disbursements—Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

		Receipts	Disbursements
Administration and historical activities:			
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935	-----	\$6,647.23	
Annual dues	-----	12,764.97	
Endowment fund, contributions	-----	97.00	
Registration fees, Chattanooga meeting	-----	474.00	
Royalties	-----	93.73	
Publications	-----	28.73	
Interest:			
From investments	-----	\$3,747.80	
From savings account	-----	306.03	
			4,053.83
Miscellaneous:			
Withdrawal from savings account	15,000.00		
Contribution toward expenses in connection with the <i>Annual Report</i>	94.50		
Refund of expenditures in connection with council meeting	1.35		
			15,095.85
Special funds:			
Andrew D. White Fund	48.00		
George Louis Beer Prize Fund	240.00		
John H. Dunning Prize Fund	80.00		
Justin Winsor Prize Fund	75.00		
			443.00
<i>American Historical Review:</i>			
The Macmillan Co.:			
For editorial expenses	2,400.00		
Profits for year ending July 15, 1936	2,636.19		
Subscriptions to proposed index to vols. 31-40	21.00		
			5,057.19
			44,755.53
Operating expenses:			
Salaries	-----	\$3,300.00	
Temporary clerical assistance	-----	45.66	
Rent, janitor service, and office expenses	-----	744.58	
Printing, stationery, and supplies	-----	363.82	
Equipment	-----	50.00	
Postage	-----	210.93	

Statement of receipts and disbursements—Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Con.

Operating expenses—Continued.	Receipts	Disbursements
Telephone and telegraph.....		\$59. 04
Auditing.....		80. 00
Bonding.....		25. 00
Council and executive committee:		
Meetings.....	\$754. 58	
Membership committee.....	97. 37	
<i>Bibliography of Travel</i>	11. 00	
		862. 95
Annual meetings:		
Chattanooga:		
Program.....	405. 26	
Local arrangements.....	284. 18	
Nominating committee.....	28. 00	
Providence:		
Nominating committee.....	24. 75	
		742. 19
Annual Report of the Association.....		419. 76
Pacific Coast Branch.....		200. 00
Board of trustees.....		20. 50
Miscellaneous:		
Express, notary fees, etc.....	\$24. 36	
Workman's compensation insurance.....	32. 00	
District of Columbia unemployment tax.....	54. 47	
Dues in American Council on Education.....	10. 00	
		120. 83
Investments:		
Endowment fund contributions transferred to Fiduciary Trust Co. for investment.....		136. 34
<i>American Historical Review:</i>		
Salaries.....	\$6, 133. 30	
Office assistance.....	115. 00	
Stationery and supplies.....	168. 20	
Postage and express.....	191. 65	
Notes contributed to the <i>Review</i>	117. 00	
Copies of the <i>Review</i> supplied to:		
Members of American Historical Association.....	7, 391. 90	
European libraries.....	40. 00	
Publications.....	4. 16	
Binding.....	2. 00	
Equipment.....	7. 63	
Miscellaneous.....	36. 45	
		14, 207. 29
Executive secretary:		
Salaries.....	3, 000. 00	
Rent, travel, and office expenses.....	1, 400. 04	
		4, 400. 04
Historical activities:		
Committee on Historical Source Material:		
Public Archives.....	150. 00	
<i>Writings on American History</i>	500. 00	
Dues in American Council of Learned Societies.....	75. 00	
Dues in International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1935 and 1936.....	163. 40	
<i>International Bibliography of Historical Sciences</i>	200. 00	
		1, 088. 40
Special funds: John H. Dunning prize of 1935.....		200. 00

Statement of receipts and disbursements—Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Con.

	Receipts	Disbursements
Special grants: Commission on the Social Studies-----		\$11, 930. 98
	\$44, 755. 53	39, 208. 31
Balance Aug. 31, 1936 (checking account, Union Trust Company)-----		5, 547. 22
	<u>44, 755. 53</u>	<u>44, 755. 53</u>
Savings account, Union Trust Company:		
Balance on hand Sept. 1, 1935-----	26, 587. 91	
Interest-----	306. 03	
Transferred to checking account-----		15, 306. 03
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936-----		11, 587. 91
	<u>26, 893. 94</u>	<u>26, 893. 94</u>

Summary of balances—Union Trust Company—Aug. 31, 1936

Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936:		
Checking account-----		\$5, 547. 22
Savings account-----		11, 587. 91
For credit of:		
Operating expenses and historical activities-----	\$5, 685. 41	
Andrew D. White fund-----	158. 78	
George Louis Beer prize fund-----	466. 50	
John H. Dunning prize fund-----	75. 09	
Justin Winsor prize fund-----	75. 00	
Writings on American History: (A. C. L. S. grant for cumulative index)-----	500. 00	
Commission on the Social Studies-----	10, 048. 35	
Subscriptions for <i>Review</i> index-----	126. 00	
	<u>17, 135. 13</u>	<u>17, 135. 13</u>

Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935-----	\$8, 517. 21	
Contribution by the American Council of Learned Societies toward publication cost of H. C. Hubbard, <i>The Older Middle West</i> -----		750. 00
Royalties:		
Heidel, <i>The Day of Yahweh</i> -----	\$5. 33	
Lonn, <i>Desertion during the Civil War</i> -----	4. 80	
Ragatz, <i>The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833</i> -----	26. 67	
Carroll, <i>French Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs</i> -----	42. 94	
Allyn, <i>Lords versus Commons</i> -----	5. 32	
Shryock, <i>The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius</i> -----	27. 74	
Sanborn, <i>Origins of the Early English Maritime and Commercial Law</i> -----	17. 07	
White, <i>Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession</i> -----	28. 80	
Bruce, <i>Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era</i> -----	9. 60	
Swann, <i>Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China</i> -----	16. 00	
Dietz, <i>English Public Finance</i> -----	40. 53	
Sydnor, <i>Slavery in Mississippi</i> -----	56. 00	
Brown, <i>The First Earl of Shaftesbury</i> -----	98. 14	
Barnes, <i>The Antislavery Impulse</i> -----	126. 93	
Whitaker, <i>The Mississippi Question</i> -----	210. 94	
Bemis, <i>The Diplomacy of the American Revolution</i> -----	1, 022. 93	
Garrett, <i>The Estates General of 1789</i> -----	3. 20	
	<u>1, 742. 94</u>	

Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Con.

	Receipts	Disbursements
Printing and storage:		
Bemis volume.....	\$217. 21	
Garrett volume.....	1, 049. 24	
Hubbart volume.....	1, 296. 88	
		\$2, 563. 33
Committee expenses:		
Postage and supplies.....	17. 63	
Clerical services and reading manuscripts.....	38. 40	
Miscellaneous expenses.....	12. 90	
		68. 93
	\$11, 010. 15	2, 632. 26
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936, Riggs National Bank.....		8, 377. 89
	11, 010. 15	11, 010. 15

Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935.....	\$16, 259. 39	
Interest:		
On investments.....	\$3, 754. 20	
On savings account.....	246. 80	
	4, 001. 00	
Royalties:		
D. L. Dumond, <i>Southern Editorials on Secession</i>	34. 13	
G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond, <i>Weld-Grimké Letters</i>	410. 66	
L. W. Labaree, <i>Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors</i>	21. 33	
	466. 12	
Subscriptions to Beveridge Memorial Fund.....	200. 00	
Expenses incurred in connection with:		
Barnes and Dumond volume.....	15. 40	
Labaree work.....	3, 187. 60	
Case volume (<i>French Opinion on the United States and Mexico</i>).....	1, 879. 97	
Binkley volume (<i>Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution</i>).....	90. 75	
		\$5, 173. 72
Postage, express, and other committee expenses.....		74. 81
Payment to the Association for publications furnished contributors to Beveridge Memorial Fund.....		425. 00
Transferred to the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York for investment.....		240. 00
	20, 926. 51	5, 913. 53
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Company.....		15, 012. 98
	20, 926. 51	20, 926. 51

Littleton-Griswold Fund—Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935.....	\$396. 81	
Interest:		
On investments.....	\$1, 000. 00	
On savings account.....	22. 44	
	1, 022. 44	
Contribution from Mrs. Griswold.....	1, 000. 00	
Proceeds of sales of publications:		
C. T. Bond, <i>Maryland Court of Appeals</i>	83. 22	
R. B. Morris, <i>Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City</i>	276. 95	
		360. 17

Littleton-Griswold Fund—Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Continued

		Receipts	Disbursements
Carriage charges and advertising:			
Bond volume-----	\$2. 12		
Morris volume-----	40. 93		
			\$43. 05
Expenses incurred in connection with Andrews volume (<i>Records of Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island</i>)-----			101. 50
Stationery, supplies, and other committee expenses-----			1. 75
Committee meetings-----			79. 04
Miscellaneous: Payment to Association for publications furnished Mrs. Griswold-----			5. 00
		\$2, 779. 42	230. 34
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Company-----			2, 549. 08
		2, 779. 42	2, 779. 42
<i>Commission on the Social Studies—Royalty account, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936</i>			
		Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935-----		\$3, 408. 22	
Interest on savings account-----		105. 92	
Royalties:			
Beard, <i>A Charter for the Social Sciences</i> -----	\$141. 74		
Beard, <i>The Nature of the Social Sciences</i> -----	163. 93		
Johnson, <i>Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences</i> -----	50. 15		
Pierce, <i>Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth</i> -----	87. 15		
Wesley, <i>Tests</i> -----	139. 25		
Merriam, <i>Civic Education in the United States</i> -----	145. 82		
Bowman, <i>Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences</i> -----	193. 72		
Newlon, <i>Educational Administration as Social Policy</i> -----	261. 15		
Kelley-Krey, <i>Tests and Measurements</i> -----	234. 07		
Counts, <i>Social Foundations of Education</i> -----	1, 241. 47		
Curti, <i>Social Ideas of American Edu- cators</i> -----	489. 61		
Tryon, <i>The Social Sciences as School Subjects</i> -----	291. 72		
Clark, <i>Exercises in Historical Evidence</i> -----	7. 59		
Kelty-Moore, <i>Tests of Concepts</i> -----	34. 90		
<i>Conclusions and Recommendations</i> -----	364. 22		
	3, 896. 49		
Less expenses incurred by publishers on account of Clark, <i>Exercises</i> -----	40. 40		
		3, 856. 09	
Royalty payments to authors:			
Johnson volume-----			\$35. 11
Pierce volume-----			61. 01
Wesley <i>Tests</i> -----			83. 56
		7, 370. 23	179. 68
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Company---			7, 190. 55
		7, 370. 23	7, 370. 23

*Commission on the Social Studies—Special account for "The Social Studies"—
Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936*

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935.....	\$71. 61	
Interest on savings account.....	1. 72	
Transfer from general funds of the Commission.....	10, 000. 00	
Payments to managing editor of <i>The Social Studies</i> for editorial work and office expenses.....		\$10, 000. 00
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Company....		73. 33
	10, 073. 33	10, 073. 33

The Fiduciary Trust Company of New York, Aug. 12, 1935, to Aug. 11, 1936

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Aug. 12, 1935.....	\$1, 124. 92	
Interest from investments.....	9, 550. 50	
Proceeds from sale of securities.....	66, 806. 93	
Securities purchased.....		\$66, 968. 75
Accrued interest.....		273. 69
Commissions and taxes.....		176. 79
Fee to Fiduciary Trust Co.....		940. 93
Payments to the American Historical Association.....		8, 870. 00
	77, 482. 35	77, 230. 16
Balance Aug. 11, 1936.....		252. 19
	77, 482. 35	77, 482. 35

Securities in hands of Fiduciary Trust Co., Aug. 12, 1935
(par value):

	Purchased	Sold
Bonds.....	\$177, 400. 00	
Stocks—preferred.....	8, 523. 75	
Stocks—common.....	21, 765. 63	
Securities purchased Aug. 12, 1935, to Aug. 11, 1936:		
Bonds.....	57, 000. 00	
Stocks—preferred.....	1, 027. 50	
Stocks—common.....	7, 306. 81	
Securities sold Aug. 12, 1935, to Aug. 11, 1936:		
Bonds.....		\$56, 000. 00
Stocks—preferred.....		1, 027. 50
Stocks—common.....		1, 885. 58
Securities held Aug. 11, 1936:		
Bonds.....		178, 400. 00
Stocks—preferred.....		8, 523. 75
Stocks—common.....		27, 186. 86
	273, 023. 69	273, 023. 69

Bonds in default of interest (par value):

Chicago, Milwaukee, & St. P. R. R. Co., 4½'s.....	5, 000. 00
Missouri-Pacific Railroad Co., 5's.....	5, 000. 00
St. Louis & San Francisco R. R. Co., 4½'s.....	5, 000. 00
Bonds in hands of receiver: International Match Corporation.....	3, 000. 00

NOTE.—During the year partial payment of interest for 1935 has been made by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. Co., and \$153.49 on the principal has been paid for the International Match Corporation.

APPENDIX

The two statements which follow have been furnished respectively by the executive secretary and the managing editor of *The Social Studies*. Each statement has been inspected and certified by two members of the Association. These statements furnish itemized data on the respective disbursements from the office of the Association as reported above.

Office of executive secretary, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

RECEIPTS

Balances Sept. 1, 1935:		
Pennsylvania Company account.....	\$192. 19	
Petty cash account.....	6. 60	
		\$198. 79
Refund from Commission on the Social Studies for expenditures made prior to Sept. 1, 1935.....		11. 92
Monthly allowance:		
September 1935.....	366. 67	
October 1935.....	366. 67	
November 1935.....	366. 67	
December 1935.....	366. 67	
January 1936.....	366. 67	
February 1936.....	366. 67	
March 1936.....	366. 67	
April 1936.....	366. 67	
May 1936.....	366. 67	
June 1936.....	366. 67	
July 1936.....	366. 67	
August 1936.....	366. 67	
		4, 400. 04
Total receipts.....		4, 610. 75

DISBURSEMENTS

	<i>Budgetary allowance</i>	<i>Actually spent</i>	
Salary:			
C. Read.....	\$1, 500. 00	\$1, 500. 00	
Ann I. Gamber.....	1, 500. 00	1, 499. 96	
Travel, rent, and office expense.....	1, 400. 00	1, 320. 98	
Travel: C. Read.....	\$246. 04		
Rent.....	480. 00		
Office expense:			
Telephone and telegraph.....	\$224. 79		
Stationery and office expense.....	95. 03		
Express.....	1. 27		
Committees.....	38. 87		
Nonrecurrent.....	37. 00		
Mimeographing.....	56. 40		
Postage.....	118. 81		
Miscellaneous.....	22. 77		
	594. 94		
	1, 320. 98	4, 400. 04	4, 320. 94
Less total expenditures.....			4, 320. 94
Balance.....			289. 81
Balance in Pennsylvania Company account, Aug. 31, 1936.....	\$284. 34		
Balance in petty cash fund, Aug. 31, 1936.....	5. 47		
			289. 81

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *October 13, 1936.*

The undersigned report that on October 13 they examined the accounts of the executive secretary's office and found them correct and in accordance with the above statement.

A. C. HOWLAND.
ROY F. NICHOLS.

"The Social Studies", Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

RECEIPTS

Balance on deposit, Aug. 31, 1935.....	\$1,337.96
Quarterly checks from American Historical Association.....	10,000.00
Sale of books, Oct. 18, 1935.....	12.00
	11,349.96

EXPENDITURES

Salaries:		
W. G. Kimmel.....	\$2,875.00	
Henrietta Wiegel.....	1,285.00	
W. McNeil Lowry.....	630.00	
Robert Bierstedt.....	237.50	
Erling M. Hunt.....	104.16	
Hildegarde Barnett.....	25.00	
		5,156.66
Departments and honoraria:		
George H. E. Smith.....	800.00	
Review assistants (4).....	400.00	
Honoraria (2).....	150.00	
		1,350.00
Office expenses:		
Supplies (A. G. Seiler).....	54.59	
Typewriter repair.....	3.00	
Telephone and telegraph.....	99.34	
Postage and express.....	186.58	
Printing (letterheads, etc.).....	46.77	
		390.28
Travel:		
Executive board.....	99.21	
Managing editor.....	123.56	
		222.77
Additional printing expense (McKinley Publishing Co.)..	1,040.34	1,040.34
Publicity (printing).....	35.00	35.00
Total expenditures.....		8,195.05
Balance on deposit, Aug. 31, 1936.....		3,154.91
		11,349.96

ERLING M. HUNT.

The above statement has been checked against the vouchers, receipts, canceled checks, checkbook, and passbook of *The Social Studies*, and has been found to be correct.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.
JOHN A. KROUT.

OCTOBER 28, 1936.

Report of the Board of Trustees

SEPTEMBER 22, 1936.

TO THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

SIR: I beg to submit herewith a report of the board of trustees of the American Historical Association for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1936.

The securities held in trust for the Association on the 31st day of August 1936, were as follows:

Bond account

	Approximate		Estimated annual income
	Price	Value	
Railroad bonds:			
\$10,000—Chesapeake & Ohio Ry. Co., ref. and imp. mtge. ser. D 3½ percent, due 5/1/96, M & N 1, int. \$175	100	\$10,000.00	\$350.00
\$5,000—Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co., genl. mtge. ser E 4½ percent, due 5/1/89, 7/1/35, cpns. stpd. \$15 pd. 1/1/36 cpns. stpd. \$7.50 pd. 7/1/35 S. C. A	57	2,850.00	37.50
\$10,000—Louisville & Nashville R. R. Co., unified 4 percent, due 7/1/1940, J & J 1, int. \$200	109	10,900.00	400.00
\$5,000—Oregon, Washington R. R. & Navigation Co., 1st and ref. mtge. ser. A GTD 4 percent, due 1/1/1961, J & J 1, int. \$100	106	5,300.00	200.00
\$12,000—Pennsylvania R. R. Co., genl. mtge. ser. D 4½ percent, due 4/1/1981, A & O 1, int. \$255	109	13,080.00	510.00
\$2,000—Pittsburgh, Bessemer & Lake Erie R. R. Co., cons. 1st mtge. 5 percent, due 1/1/1947, J & J 1, int. \$50	120	2,400.00	100.00
\$5,000—Railway Express Agency, Inc., ser. A 5 percent, due 3/1/1949, M & S 1, int. \$125	109	5,450.00	250.00
Public utility bonds:			
\$10,000—American Gas & Elec. Co., deb. 5 percent, due 5/1/2028, M & N 1, int. \$250	108	10,800.00	500.00
\$5,000—American Tel. & Tel. Co., deb. 5 percent, due 2/1/1965, F & A 1, int. \$125	112	5,600.00	250.00
\$7,000—Brooklyn Edison Co., Inc., cons. mtge. 3½ percent, due 5/15/66, M & N 15, int. \$113.75	102	7,140.00	227.50
\$8,000—Columbia Gas & Elec. Corp., deb. 5 percent, due 5/1/1952, M & N 1, int. \$150	105	6,300.00	300.00
\$5,000—Commonwealth Edison Co., 1st mtge. ser. F 4 percent, due 3/1/81, M & S 1, int. \$100	107	5,350.00	200.00
\$10,000—Consolidated Edison Co. of N. Y., Inc., deb. 3½ percent, due 4/1/46, A & O 1, int. \$162.50	105	10,500.00	325.00
\$6,000—Detroit Edison Co., genl. and ref. mtge. ser. F 4 percent, due 10/1/65, A & O 1, int. \$120	111	6,660.00	240.00
\$5,000—Florida Power & Light Co., 1st mtge. 5 percent, due 1/1/1954, J & J 1, int. \$125	97	4,850.00	250.00
\$5,000—Massachusetts Utilities Associates, deb. ser. A 5 percent, due 4/1/49, A & O 1, int. \$125	104	5,200.00	250.00
\$5,000—North American Co., deb. 5 percent, due 2/1/61, F & A 1, int. \$125	107	5,350.00	250.00
\$7,000—Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 1st and ref. mtge. ser. G 4 percent, due 12/1/64, J & D 1, int. \$140	110	7,700.00	280.00
Industrial bonds:			
\$3,000—International Match Corp., etf. of dep. reg. deb. 5 percent, due 11/1/1947, not paying	19	570.00	-----
\$10,000—National Steel Corp., 1st coll. mtge. 4 percent, due 6/1/65, J & D 1, int. \$200	107	10,700.00	400.00
\$10,000—General Motors Acceptance Corp., deb. 3 percent, due 8/1/46, F & A 1, int. \$150	103	10,300.00	300.00
Canadian bonds:			
\$5,000—Bell Telephone Co. of Canada, 1st mtge. ser. B 5 percent, due 6/1/1957, J & D 1, int. \$125	122	6,100.00	250.00
\$5,000—Canadian National Ry. Co., Ltd., 5 percent, due 10/1/1969, A & O 1, int. \$125	121	6,050.00	250.00
\$5,000—Ontario Power Co. of Niagara Falls, 1st mtge. 5 percent, due 2/1/43, F & A 1, int. \$125	114	5,700.00	250.00
Foreign bonds:			
\$5,000—Australia, Commonwealth of, extl. loan of 1928, 4½ percent, due 5/1/1956, M & N 1, int. \$112.50	103	5,150.00	225.00
Common stock:			
30 shares International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd., com. no par rate irregular, MS JD 30, 35¢ payable 9/30/36 (estimated rate \$1.20)	54	1,620.00	36.00
Securities value		171,620.00	-----
Principal cash balance		186.60	-----
Total bond account		171,806.60	6,631.00

Special account

Railroad bonds:			
\$5,000—Missouri Pacific R. R. Co., 1st and ref. mtge. ser. G 5 percent, due 11/1/1978, 5/1/33, and S. C. A. M & N 1, not paying	338	\$1,900.00	-----
\$5,000—Mobile & Birmingham R. R. Co., 1st mtge. 4 percent, due 7/1/1945, \$200 denominations, J & J 1, int. \$100	63	3,150.00	\$200.00
\$3,000—New York Central R. R. Co., ref. and imp. mtge. ser. A 4½ percent, due 10/1/2013, A & O 1, int. \$67.50	92	2,760.00	135.00
\$4,000—New York, Chicago & St. Louis R. R. Co., ref. mtge. ser. A 5½ percent, due 4/1/1974, A & O 1, int. \$110	103	4,120.00	220.00
\$5,000—St. Louis, San Francisco Ry. Co., cons. mtge. ser. A 4½ percent, due 3/1/1978, M & S 1, 3/1/33, S. C. A., not paying	24	1,200.00	-----

Special account—Continued

	Approximate		Estimated annual income
	Price	Value	
Public utility bonds:			
\$3,000—American Gas & Electric Co., deb., 5 percent, due 5/1/2028, M & N 1, int. \$75.....	\$108	\$3,240.00	\$150.00
Industrial bonds:			
\$2,000—Republic Steel Corp., conv. genl. mtge., ser. A, 4½ percent, due 9/1/50, M & S 1, int. \$45.....	116	2,320.00	90.00
Preferred stock:			
15 shares Ohio Power Co., 6 percent cuml. pfd., par \$100 rate \$6, MS JD 1, div. \$22.50.....	111	1,665.00	90.00
50 shares American Car & Foundry Co., 7 percent non cum. pfd., par \$100, JJ AO 1, not paying.....	86	4,300.00	-----
20 shares Commercial Investment Trust Corp., \$4.25 cum. conv. pref., no par rate \$4.25, JJ AO 1, div. \$21.25.....	117	2,340.00	85.00
Industrial common stocks:			
15 shares United Fruit Co., no par rate \$3, JJ AO 15, div. \$11.25.....	82	1,230.00	45.00
20 shares American Can Co., com., par \$25, rate \$4, \$1 extra paid 2/15/36, FA MN 15, div. \$20.....	122	2,440.00	100.00
40 shares J. C. Penney Co., com., no par rate \$3, MS JD 30, div. \$30.....	90	3,600.00	120.00
40 shares F. W. Woolworth Co., par \$10, rate \$2.40, MS JD 1, div. \$24.....	55	2,200.00	96.00
30 shares Monsanto Chemical Co., par \$10, rate \$1, 75c extra declared to 9/15/36, MS JD 15, div. \$7.50.....	100	3,000.00	52.50
40 shares Union Carbide & Carbon Corp., no par rate \$2.80, JJ AO 1, div. \$28.....	95	3,800.00	112.00
60 shares Continental Oil Co., com., par \$5, rate \$1, JJ AO 31, div. \$15.....	30	1,800.00	60.00
50 shares Standard Oil Co. of N. J., cap. par. \$25, rate \$1, 25c extra paid 6/15/36, J & D 15, div. \$25.....	63	3,150.00	62.50
25 shares Chrysler Corp., par \$5, rate irregular \$6.50 declared to 9/15/36, MS JD 15.....	115	2,875.00	162.50
40 shares General Motors Corp., com., par \$10, rate \$2, \$1.50 extra declared to 9/12/36, MS JD 12, div. \$20.....	67	2,680.00	140.00
30 shares International Harvester Co., no par rate \$2.50, JJ AO 15, div. \$18.75.....	79	2,370.00	75.00
40 shares Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co., no par, not paying.....	83	3,320.00	-----
20 shares U. S. Gypsum Co., com. par \$20, rate \$2, JJ AO 1, div. \$10.....	101	2,020.00	40.00
50 shares Kennecott Copper Corp., com. no par rate \$1.20, MS JD 30, div. \$15.....	48	2,400.00	60.00
50 shares Pacific Gas & Electric Co., par \$25, rate \$1.50, JJ AO 15, div. \$18.75.....	39	1,950.00	75.00
Financial common stocks:			
10 shares Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y., par \$100, rate \$12, JJ AO 1, div. \$30.....	367	3,670.00	120.00
24 shares Commercial Investment Trust Corp., no par rate \$4, JJ AO 1, div. \$24.....	80	1,920.00	96.00
Securities value.....		71,420.00	-----
Principal cash balance.....		O.D. 49.63	-----
Total special account.....		71,370.37	2,386.50
Total bond account.....		171,806.60	6,631.00
Grand total.....		243,176.97	9,017.50

All the securities listed above are in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York. It will be borne in mind that the securities in the bond account are under the direct control of the board of trustees and are neither bought nor sold except with the written approval of a majority of the board. The securities in the special account are bought and sold at the discretion of the Fiduciary Trust Co. This account was created in June 1934. As originally constituted it was made up of securities which the trustees believed it desirable to sell, and as sales were made it was largely invested in common stocks in order to provide some measure of insurance against what was believed at the time to be an impending danger of inflation. The discretionary power conceded to the Fiduciary Trust Co. in the management of this special account can be terminated at any time by the board of trustees upon notice to that effect in writing or by the Fiduciary Trust Co. upon 30 days' notice.

During the year securities at a cost price of \$67,118.75 have been purchased for the bond account, and securities at a sales price of \$66,458.34 have been sold from the bond account. Securities at a cost price of \$13,272 have been purchased

for the special account, and securities at a sales price of \$12,299.50 have been sold from the special account. A list of these purchases and sales is on file at the office of the chairman of the board of trustees.

A comparison of the holdings of the American Historical Association as of August 31, 1936, with its holdings as of August 31, 1935, reveals the following:

	Value of principal	Income
Bond account:		
1935.....	\$164,441.52	\$7,183.00
1936.....	171,806.60	6,631.00
Special account:		
1935.....	53,215.15	1,928.25
1936.....	71,370.37	2,386.50

The net result, therefore, of the year's operation has been that the total value of the securities now held for the Association has increased from \$217,656.67 to \$243,176.97, an increase of 11.7 percent, while the income has decreased from \$9,111.25 to \$9,017.50, or a decrease of 1 percent. It will be noticed that there has been an increase in the capital value of securities in both the bond account and the special account, but that the larger proportionate increase has been in the special account where the holdings, being largely in common stocks, have been more responsive to the general increase in value of securities.

The charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Co. for the management of these securities amounted during the current year to \$940.93; the brokerage charges on purchases and sales amounted to \$142.

FOR THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
CONYERS READ, *Chairman*.

Report on Examination

SEPTEMBER 18, 1936.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIRS:

We have examined your accounts from September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, and submit herewith our report including six exhibits and three schedules.

CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

A summary of the cash receipts and disbursements of the various funds, as detailed in exhibits A to F, inclusive, is as follows:

Exhibit	Account	Balance, Sept. 1, 1935	Cash receipts	Subtotal	Cash disbursements	Balance, Aug. 31, 1936
A	General account.....	\$33,235.14	\$23,108.30	\$56,343.44	\$39,208.31	\$17,135.13
B	Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.....	8,517.21	2,492.94	11,010.15	2,632.26	8,377.89
C	Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.....	16,259.39	4,667.12	20,926.51	5,913.53	15,012.98
D	Littleton-Griswold Fund.....	396.81	2,382.61	2,779.42	230.34	2,549.08
E	Commission on the Social Studies—royalty account.....	3,408.22	3,962.01	7,370.23	179.68	7,190.55
F	Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.....	71.61	10,001.72	10,073.33	10,000.00	73.33
	Total.....	61,888.38	46,614.70	108,503.08	58,164.12	50,338.96

Recorded cash receipts were checked against the bank deposits and the cash disbursements were supported by canceled checks and approved vouchers.

The cash in banks at August 31, 1936, amounting to \$50,338.96, was reconciled with bank statements and pass books and confirmed by correspondence with the depositories. A summary of the cash balances in the various funds at August 31, 1936, is as follows:

Riggs National Bank: Checking account: no. 1		\$8, 377. 89
Union Trust Co.:		
Checking account: no. 2	\$5, 547. 22	
Savings account: no. 3	11, 587. 91	
		<u>\$17, 135. 13</u>
No. 4		7, 190. 55
No. 5		15, 012. 98
No. 6		2, 549. 08
No. 7		73. 33
		<u>41, 961. 07</u>
Total		<u>50, 338. 96</u>

INVESTMENTS

A summary of the transactions made by the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York for your account from August 12, 1935, to August 11, 1936, inclusive, as detailed on schedule no. 1, is as follows:

Cash balance at Aug. 12, 1935	\$1, 124. 92	
Add: Receipts	76, 357. 43	
		<u>\$77, 482. 35</u>
Deduct: Disbursements		<u>77, 230. 16</u>

Cash balance at Aug. 11, 1936	252. 19
-------------------------------	---------

On August 31, 1936, the following amounts were transferred to the Fiduciary for investment and were entered accordingly on your records but same are not included in their report for the fiscal year ended August 11, 1936.

General account	\$136. 34
Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund	240. 00
Total	<u>376. 34</u>

A summary of the purchase and sale of securities made by the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York for your account from August 12, 1935, to August 11, 1936, as detailed on schedule no. 2, is as follows:

Securities on hand at Aug. 12, 1935	\$217, 689. 38	
Add: Purchases	65, 290. 10	
		<u>\$282, 979. 48</u>
Deduct: Sales		<u>59, 854. 95</u>
Securities on hand at Aug. 11, 1936		223, 124. 53
Add: Securities in hands of receivers: \$3,000, International Match Corporation, C/D, 5's, 1947		<u>2, 846. 51</u>
Total securities—schedule no. 3		<u>225, 971. 04</u>

A summary of all securities, or certificates of deposit covering same, in the hands of the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York at August 11, 1936, in accordance with statements submitted to us by your Association, computed at par and book value, as detailed on schedule no. 3, is as follows:

Bonds:		
Interest-paying, par value	\$172, 400. 00	
In default of interest, par value	15, 000. 00	
In receivership, par value, less dividend	2, 846. 51	
		<u>\$190, 246. 51</u>

Stocks:

Preferred:

Interest-paying, par value..... \$3, 500. 00

Nonpaying, par value..... 5, 000. 00

\$8, 500. 00

Common—book value..... 27, 224. 53

\$35, 724. 53

Total securities—schedule no. 3..... 225, 971. 04

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

The total net income received from securities by the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York and transmitted to the Association during the year ended August 11, 1936, amounted to \$8,870, as shown on schedule no. 1. The total interest and dividends on securities, as shown by the records, was accounted for with the following exceptions:

Par value	Bond	Rate	Year	Due at—	Interest in arrears
\$5, 000	Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co.....	4½'s	1989	July 1, 1936...	\$225. 00
3, 000	International Match Corporation, C/D.....	5's	1947	May 1, 1936...	671. 16
5, 000	Missouri-Pacific R. R. Co.....	5's	1978	do.....	875. 00
5, 000	St. Louis & San Francisco Ry. Co.....	4½'s	1978	do.....	787. 50
	Total.....				2, 558. 66

In addition to the foregoing arrearages, the dividend of 7 percent on the preferred stock of the American Car & Foundry Co. was not paid during the year under review.

F. W. LAFRENTZ & Co.

Certified Public Accountants.

EXHIBIT A.—Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—General account, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

RECEIPTS

Annual dues.....	\$12, 764. 97
Contributions.....	97. 00
Registration fees.....	474. 00
Royalties.....	93. 73
Publications.....	28. 73
Interest:	
Savings account.....	\$306. 03
Investments—Fiduciary Trust Co. of	
New York: Unrestricted funds.....	\$3, 747. 80
Special funds:	
Andrew D. White Fund.....	\$48. 00
George Louis Beer Prize	
Fund.....	240. 00
John H. Dunning Prize	
Fund.....	80. 00
	368. 00
	4, 115. 80
Justin Winsor Prize Fund—contribution.....	4, 421. 83
Miscellaneous.....	75. 00
American Historical Review:	95. 85
The Macmillan Co.:	
Editorial expenses.....	\$2, 400. 00
Profit for the year ending July 15, 1936.....	2, 636. 19
Subscriptions to proposed index to vols. 21-40.....	21. 00
	5, 057. 19
Total receipts.....	23, 108. 30

EXHIBIT A.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—General account, from
Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Continued*

RECEIPTS—continued

Cash on hand, Union Trust Co., Sept. 1, 1935:		
Checking account.....	\$6, 647. 23	
Savings account.....	26, 587. 91	
		<u>\$33, 235. 14</u>
		56, 343. 44

DISBURSEMENTS

Administrative expenses:			
Salaries.....	\$3, 300. 00		
Temporary clerical assistance.....	45. 66		
			<u>\$3, 345. 66</u>
Rent.....	600. 00		
Janitor service and office expenses.....	144. 58		
Stationery, printing and office supplies.....	363. 82		
Postage.....	210. 93		
Telephone and telegraph.....	59. 04		
Auditing.....	80. 00		
Bonding.....	25. 00		
Equipment.....	50. 00		
Council and executive committee meetings.....	862. 95		
Annual meeting:			
Chattanooga:			
Program.....	\$405. 26		
Local arrangements.....	284. 18		
Nominating committee.....	28. 00		
		<u>\$717. 44</u>	
Providence:			
Nominating committee.....	24. 75		
		742. 19	
Annual Report of the Association.....	419. 76		
Pacific Coast Branch.....	200. 00		
Board of trustees.....	20. 50		
Miscellaneous.....	120. 83		
			<u>7, 245. 26</u>
Historical activities:			
Writings on American History, American Historical Association grant for 1936.....	500. 00		
Dues to American Council of Learned Societies.....	75. 00		
International Bibliography of Historical Sciences.....	363. 40		
John H. Dunning Prize, 1935.....	200. 00		
Committee on historical source material.....	150. 00		
Commission on the Social Studies:			
Salaries.....	\$700. 00		
Committee expenses.....	1, 230. 98		
Transfer to special account.....	10, 000. 00		
		<u>11, 930. 98</u>	
			13, 219. 38
American Historical Review:			
Salaries.....	6, 248. 30		
Stationery and supplies.....	187. 65		
Postage and express.....	162. 54		
Payments for notes.....	117. 00		
Copies to members.....	\$7, 391. 90		
Copies to European libraries.....	40. 00		
		<u>7, 431. 90</u>	
Publications.....	4. 16		
Binding.....	2. 00		
Equipment.....	7. 63		
Miscellaneous.....	46. 11		
			<u>14, 207. 29</u>
Executive secretary:			
Salaries.....	3, 000. 00		
Office expenses.....	1, 400. 04		
			<u>4, 400. 04</u>

EXHIBIT A.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—General account, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Continued*

DISBURSEMENTS—continued

Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York for investment.....		\$136. 34	
Total disbursements.....		39, 208. 31	
Cash on hand, Union Trust Co., Aug. 31, 1936:			
Checking account.....	\$5, 547. 22		
Savings account.....	11, 587. 91		
		17, 135. 13	
		56, 343. 44	
Savings account:			
Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935.....	26, 587. 91		
Interest.....	306. 03		
	26, 893. 94		
Transfer of funds: To checking account.....	15, 306. 03		
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936.....		11, 587. 91	
Checking account.....		5, 547. 22	
For credit of:			
Operating expense and historical activities.....	5, 685. 41		
Subscriptions for <i>Review</i> index.....	126. 00		
Andrew D. White Fund.....	158. 78		
George Louis Beer Prize Fund.....	466. 50		
John H. Dunning Prize Fund.....	75. 09		
<i>Writings on American History</i> —American Council of			
Learned Societies—For cumulative index.....	500. 00		
Justin Winsor Prize Fund.....	75. 00		
Commission on Social Studies.....	10, 048. 35		
		17, 135. 13	17, 135. 13

EXHIBIT B.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, from Sept. 1, 1935 to Aug. 31, 1936*

RECEIPTS

Contribution: American Council of Learned Societies, toward publication cost of Hubbard's <i>The Older Middle West</i>		\$750. 00	
Royalties:			
Allyn.....	\$5. 32		
Barnes.....	126. 93		
Bemis.....	1, 022. 93		
Brown.....	98. 14		
Bruce.....	9. 60		
Carroll.....	42. 94		
Dietz.....	40. 53		
Garrett.....	3. 20		
Heidel.....	5. 33		
Lonn.....	4. 80		
Ragatz.....	26. 67		
Sanborn.....	17. 07		
Shryock.....	27. 74		
Swann.....	16. 00		
Sydnor.....	56. 00		
Whitaker.....	210. 94		
White.....	28. 80		
		1, 742. 94	
Total receipts.....		2, 492. 94	
Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935, Riggs National Bank.....		8, 517. 21	
		11, 010. 15	

EXHIBIT B.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Continued*

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing and storage:

Volume:

Bemis.....	\$217. 21	
Garrett.....	2, 346. 12	
		\$2, 563. 33

Committee expenses:

Clerical services and reading of manuscripts.....	38. 40	
Postage and supplies.....	17. 63	
Miscellaneous.....	12. 90	
		68. 93

Total disbursements.....	2, 632. 26	
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936, Riggs National Bank.....	8, 377. 89	
		11, 010. 15

EXHIBIT C.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, from Sept. 1, 1935 to Aug. 31, 1936*

RECEIPTS

Interest:

Investments.....	\$3, 754. 20	
Savings account.....	246. 80	
		\$4, 001. 00

Royalties:

Dumond— <i>Southern Editorials on Secession</i>	34. 13	
Barnes and Dumond— <i>Welde-Grimké Letters</i>	410. 66	
Labaree— <i>Instructions to Royal Governors in America, 1670-1776</i>	21. 33	
		466. 12
Subscriptions—Memorial fund.....		200. 00

Total receipts.....	4, 667. 12	
Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935, Union Trust Co., savings account.....	16, 259. 39	
		20, 926. 51

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenses of volumes:

Barnes and Dumond— <i>Welde-Grimké Letters</i>	\$15. 40	
Binkley— <i>Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-36</i>	90. 75	
Case— <i>French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-67</i>	1, 879. 97	
Labaree— <i>Instructions to Royal Governors in America, 1670-1776</i>	3, 187. 60	
		\$5, 173. 72

Postage, express, and other committee expenses.....	74. 81	
Dues to American Historical Association of Life Members.....	425. 00	
Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York for investment.....	240. 00	

Total disbursements.....	5, 913. 53	
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936: Union Trust Co., savings account.....	15, 012. 98	
		20, 926. 51

EXHIBIT D.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—Littleton-Griswold Fund, from Sept. 1, 1935 to Aug. 31, 1936*

RECEIPTS

Interest:		
Investments.....	\$1,000. 90	
Savings account.....	22. 44	
		\$1,022. 44
Contributions from Mrs. Frank T. Griswold.....		1,000. 00
Proceeds of sales of publications:		
Volumes:		
Bond— <i>Proceedings of Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729</i>	83. 22	
Morris— <i>Select Cases of the Mayor's Court, New York City, 1674-1784</i>	276. 95	
		360. 17
Total receipts.....		2,382. 61
Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935, Union Trust Co., savings account.....		396. 81
		2,779. 42

DISBURSEMENTS

Miscellaneous expenses:		
Volumes:		
Bond— <i>Proceedings of Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729</i>	\$2. 12	
Morris— <i>Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784</i>	40. 93	
Andrews— <i>Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island</i>	101. 50	
		\$144. 55
Committee expenses and miscellaneous.....		85. 79
Total disbursements.....		230. 34
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936; Union Trust Co., savings account.....		2,549. 08
		2,779. 42

EXHIBIT E.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements, Commission on the Social Studies—royalty account, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936*

RECEIPTS

Interest on savings account.....		\$105. 92
Royalties:		
Volumes:		
Beard— <i>A Charter for the Social Sciences</i>	\$141. 74	
Beard— <i>The Nature of the Social Sciences</i>	163. 93	
Bowman— <i>Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences</i>	193. 72	
Clark— <i>Exercises in Historical Evidence</i>	32. 81	
Counts— <i>Social Foundations of Education</i>	1,241. 47	
Curti— <i>The Social Ideas of American Educators</i>	489. 61	
Johnson— <i>Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools</i>	50. 15	
Kelley and Krey— <i>Tests and Measurements</i>	284. 07	
Kelty and Moore— <i>Tests of Concepts</i>	34. 90	
Merriam— <i>Civic Education in the United States</i>	145. 82	
Newlon— <i>Educational Administration as Social Policy</i>	261. 15	
Pierce— <i>Citizens Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth</i>	87. 15	
Tryon— <i>The Social Sciences as School Subjects</i>	291. 72	
Wesley— <i>Tests</i>	139. 25	
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	364. 22	
		3,856. 09
Total receipts.....		3,962. 01

EXHIBIT E.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements, Commission on the Social Studies—royalty account, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936—Continued*

RECEIPTS—continued.

Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935, Union Trust Co., savings account.....	\$3, 408. 22
	7, 370. 23

DISBURSEMENTS

Royalty payments to authors:	
Johnson.....	\$35. 11
Pierce.....	61. 01
Wesley.....	83. 56
Total disbursements.....	179. 68
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Co., savings account.....	7, 190. 55
	7, 370. 23

EXHIBIT F.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements—Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, from Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936*

RECEIPTS

Interest on savings account.....	\$1. 72
Transfer from the general funds of the commission.....	10, 000. 00
Total receipts.....	10, 001. 72
Cash on hand, Sept. 1, 1935, Union Trust Co. savings account.....	71. 61
	10, 073. 33

DISBURSEMENTS

To managing editor for editorial work and office expenses.....	\$10, 000. 00
Cash on hand, Aug. 31, 1936, Union Trust Co., savings account.....	73. 33
	10, 073. 33

SCHEDULE No. 1.—*Statement of cash receipts and disbursements of the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York, from Aug. 12, 1935, to Aug. 11, 1936*

[In accordance with statement submitted by American Historical Association]

RECEIPTS

Interest on securities.....	\$9, 550. 50
Proceeds of sale of securities.....	66, 806. 93
Total receipts.....	76, 357. 43
Cash in hands of Fiduciary, Aug. 12, 1935.....	1, 124. 92
	77, 482. 35

DISBURSEMENTS

Securities purchased.....	\$66, 968. 75
Accrued interest.....	273. 69
Commissions, taxes, etc.....	176. 79
Fee to Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York.....	940. 93
Total disbursements.....	68, 360. 16
Cash in hands of Fiduciary, Aug. 11, 1936.....	252. 19
	\$68, 612. 35
Payments to American Historical Association:	
Exhibit A—General account.....	4, 115. 80
Exhibit C—Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.....	3, 754. 20
Exhibit D—Littleton-Griswold Fund.....	1, 000. 00
	8, 870. 00

SCHEDULE No. 2.—*Purchase and sale of securities by the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York—From Aug. 12, 1935, to Aug. 11, 1936*

[In accordance with statement submitted by American Historical Association]

Securities in hands of Fiduciary at Aug. 12, 1935----- \$217, 689. 38
Add:

Securities purchased:

Bonds—per list (par value)-----	\$57, 000. 00	
Stocks, preferred—per list (book value)-----	1, 027. 50	
Stocks, common—per list (book value)-----	7, 182. 00	
		65, 209. 50
		282, 898. 88
Adjustment of preferred and common stocks (book values)-----		80. 60
		282, 979. 48

Deduct:

Securities sold:

Bonds—per list (par value)-----	57, 000. 00	
Stocks, preferred—per list (book value)-----	1, 027. 50	
Stocks, common—per list (book value)-----	1, 827. 45	
		59, 854. 95

Securities in hands of Fiduciary at Aug. 11, 1936:

Bonds—per list (par value)-----	172, 400. 00
Bonds in default of interest—per list (par value):	
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co., 4½'s, 1989-----	\$5, 000. 00
Missouri-Pacific R. R. Co., 5's, 1978-----	5, 000. 00
St. Louis & San Francisco Ry. Co., 4½'s, 1978-----	¹ 5, 000. 00
	15, 000. 00

Stocks, per list:

Preferred (par value)-----	8, 500. 00	
Common (book value)-----	27, 224. 53	
	35, 724. 53	
		223, 124. 53

Add:

Bonds in hands of receivers:

International Match Corporation, C/D, 1947 (par value)-----	3, 000. 00	
Less: Dividend received May 9, 1936-----	153. 49	
	2, 846. 51	
Total-----		225, 971. 04

SCHEDULE No. 3.—*Securities—at Aug. 11, 1936—in hands of the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York*

[In accordance with statement submitted by American Historical Association]

Bonds:

American Gas & Electric Co., 5's, 2028-----	\$13, 000. 00
American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 5's, 1965-----	5, 000. 00
Bell Telephone Co. of Canada, 5's, 1957-----	5, 000. 00
Brooklyn Edison Co., Inc., 4¼'s, 1966-----	7, 000. 00
Canadian National Ry. Co., 5's, 1969-----	5, 000. 00
Chesapeake & Ohio Ry. Co., series D, 3½'s, 1996-----	10, 000. 00
Columbia Gas & Electric Corporation, 5's, 1952-----	6, 000. 00

¹ These bonds were turned over to the Chase National Bank on Apr. 12, 1933, for which certificate of deposit was received.

**SCHEDULE No. 3.—Securities—at Aug. 11, 1936—in hands of the Fiduciary Trust
Co. of New York—Continued**

Bonds—Continued.

Commonwealth Edison Co., series F, 4's, 1981-----	\$5, 000. 00	
Commonwealth of Australia, 4½'s, 1956-----	5, 000. 00	
Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc., 3½'s, 1946-----	8, 000. 00	
Detroit Edison Co., series F, 4's, 1965-----	6, 000. 00	
Florida Power & Light Co., 5's, 1954-----	5, 000. 00	
Kingdom of Denmark, 4½'s, 1962-----	10, 000. 00	
Louisville & Nashville R. R. Co., 4's, 1940-----	10, 000. 00	
Massachusetts Utilities Associates, series A, 5's, 1949-----	5, 000. 00	
Mobile & Birmingham R. R. Co., 4's, 1945-----	5, 000. 00	
National Steel Corporation, 4's, 1965-----	10, 000. 00	
New York Central R. R. Co., 4½'s 2013-----	3, 000. 00	
New York, Chicago, & St. Louis R. R. Co., 5½'s, 1974-----	4, 000. 00	
North American Co., 5's, 1961-----	5, 000. 00	
Ontario Power Co. of Niagara Falls, 5's, 1943-----	5, 000. 00	
Oregon-Washington R. R. & Navigation Co., 4's, 1961-----	5, 000. 00	
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., series G, 4's, 1964-----	6, 000. 00	
Pennsylvania R. R. Co., series D, 4¼'s, 1981-----	12, 000. 00	
Pittsburgh, Bessemer & Lake Erie R. R. Co., 5's, 1947-----	2, 000. 00	
Potomac Electric Power Co., series B, 6's, 1953-----	400. 00	
Railway Express Co., Inc., series A, 5's, 1949-----	5, 000. 00	
Republic Steel Corporation, series A, 4½'s 1950-----	2, 000. 00	
Vamma Water Power Co., 5½'s, 1957-----	3, 000. 00	\$172, 400. 00

In default:

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. Co., 4½'s 1989-----	5, 000. 00	
Missouri-Pacific R. R. Co., 5's, 1978-----	5, 000. 00	
St. Louis & San Francisco Ry. Co., 4½'s, 1978 (see note—schedule no. 2)-----	5, 000. 00	15, 000. 00

In receivership:

International Match Corporation, C/D, 5's, 1947, par value-----	3, 000. 00		
Less: Dividend paid May 9, 1936----	153. 49	2, 846. 51	\$190, 246. 51

Stocks:

Preferred:

50 American Car & Foundry Co., 7 percent, noncumulative-----	5, 000. 00	
20 Commercial Investment Trust Corporation \$4.25 cumulative-----	2, 000. 00	
15 Ohio Power Co., 6 percent, cumulative-----	1, 500. 00	8, 500. 00

SCHEDULE No. 3.—*Securities—at Aug. 11, 1936—in hands of the Fiduciary Trust Co. of New York—Continued*

Stocks—Continued.

Common:

20 American Can Co.....	\$1, 817. 54½		
24 Commercial Investment & Trust Corporation.....	674. 80		
60 Continental Oil Co.....	1, 051. 92		
25 Chrysler Corporation.....	886. 07½		
40 General Motors Corporation..	1, 112. 80		
10 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.....	3, 090. 00		
30 International Harvester Co..	1, 150. 95		
30 International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd.....	700. 20		
50 Kennecott Copper Corporation.....	1, 060. 75		
30 Monsanto Chemical Co.....	1, 690. 35½		
50 Pacific Gas & Electric Co....	1, 966. 40		
40 Penny Co., J. C.....	1, 834. 60		
50 Standard Oil Co. of N. J....	2, 122. 65		
40 Union Carbide & Carbon Corporation.....	1, 649. 60		
15 United Fruit Co.....	1, 329. 98		
20 United States Gypsum Co..	916. 50		
40 Woolworth Co., F. W.....	2, 043. 80		
40 Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.....	2, 125. 60	\$27, 224. 53	\$35, 724. 53
Total.....			225, 971. 04

F. W. LAURENTZ & Co.
Certified Public Accountants.

COMMITTEE REPORTS FOR 1936

Report of the Nominating Committee

Your committee on nominations, in compliance with the requirements of the bylaws, reports the following nominations for elective offices and committee members of the Association for the ensuing year, 1936-37. The committee regrets that Mr. McGuire, who has been treasurer of the Association for 6 years, has found it necessary to request that he be relieved from further service.

President: Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

First vice President: Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Second vice president: Frederic L. Paxson, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Secretary: Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, Washington, D. C.

New members of the Council (for 4 years ending 1940):

Carl Wittke, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Nominating committee: J. Fred Rippy, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., *chairman*; M. E. Curti, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University, Calif.; Violet Barbour, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

AVERY O. CRAVEN, *Chairman.*
 VIOLA BARNES,
 PAUL KNAFLUND,
 M. E. CURTI,
 J. FRED RIPPY.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND

The committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund reports the completion of three projects during the calendar year. Two of these have appeared and the third is in press. During the course of the year, W. C. Binkley completed *Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-36* and Lynn M. Case, *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-67*. Both of these were published during the summer. S. Pargellis' *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-65: Extracts from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* is in press and will be issued, we hope, before the annual meeting of the Association.

The project of Frank Monaghan embracing a collection of the papers of John Jay is about 60 percent completed, and the manuscript is promised next spring. The projects of H. C. Perkins and J. H. Easterby should appear soon thereafter.

During the year, the committee has decided to print in its series a collection of the papers of James G. Birney, noted abolitionist agitator. These papers were discovered by Dwight L. Dumond and upon the understanding that all editorial expenses would be borne by other agencies, the committee agreed to print the result because the material so neatly supplemented the *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-44*.

The committee has ordered the unbound sets of the *Southern Editorials on Secession* to be bound up in the format of the rest of the series. The Appleton-Century Co. has prepared a leaflet on the publications of the Beveridge Memorial Fund and is now prepared to promote the sale of these volumes in sets. To date, six projects have been published and four are in preparation.

ROY F. NICHOLS, *Chairman*.

NOVEMBER 1, 1936.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND

I beg to present, for submission to the executive council of the Association, the following report on the work of the committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund during the year 1936.

Sales continue of Judge Bond's volume of *Maryland Records* and of Dr. Morris's volume on the *Mayor's Court of New York City*. Up to October 6 of this year 183 copies of the first and 161 of the second had been sold, the receipts for the first totaling \$1,289 and for the second \$1,120.

The third volume of the committee, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island*, edited by Mrs. Towle, with an introduction by Professor Andrews, is in the press and will be published early in December. Very special acknowledgment should be made of the great amount of care devoted by Dr. Morris to the preparation of the manuscript for the press, despite his heavy obligations as the regional director for New York City and Long Island of the survey of Federal archives which has been in progress during the last year under the supervision of Dr. Philip M. Hamer of the National Archives as national director. It is confidently expected that Dr. Andrews's volume will arouse new and great interest in the undertakings of our committee.

Some progress has been made in preparing the way for later volumes in the committee's series. It seems possible that it may become expedient occasionally to issue records of relatively limited bulk, or exceptionally accessible or in exceptionally excellent condition, in volumes that will impose relatively slight burdens upon their editors. Such procedure would make it feasible to allow ample time for editorial work upon more difficult materials. In the course of his work above referred to, Dr. Morris has discovered records which would very desirably supplement the *Reports of Cases in the Vice-Admiralty of New York (1715-88)* edited by Judge Charles M. Hough and published in 1925. In addition to discovering very

much new material, Dr. Morris has already compared Judge Hough's cases with the new records and carefully arranged these, thus completing much of the editorial work upon them which would be necessary should the committee decide to publish them. Dr. Morris has also discovered interesting records on Long Island. The chairman spent a day in North Carolina in conference with Mr. Crittenden, the secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of that State, and the members of the North Carolina Committee on Legal History, two of whose members had undertaken the editing of a volume of North Carolina records, as stated in the report made to you last year. The object was to determine how far work on that volume had progressed, and to learn whether new and valuable materials were being discovered as a result of the Nation-wide survey of State and local historical records which has been proceeding during the past year as one of the Federal writers' projects under the direction of Dr. Luther H. Evans, associate director of writers' projects and national supervisor of the survey. The conference was encouraging. The chairman also visited Trenton, N. J., and discovered there an enormous number of documents in, surprisingly good condition and good order. Judge Bond will sometime this autumn examine these records with care. Dr. Morris' heavy duties in the position above referred to have hitherto prevented him from investigating records in Connecticut and Rhode Island, but he will make such an examination sometime this autumn. Interesting records have been examined, also, in Pennsylvania. It is believed that the full committee, acting upon reports by Dr. Morris and Judge Bond and the chairman as a subcommittee to report upon materials available for later volumes of our series, will be able within a few months to select records for publication and initiate editorial work upon them. There can be no question that a great abundance of material is available. The greatest problem confronting the committee will be the discovery of competent editors who are willing to devote to our cause the great amount of time which an editorial job requires.

The committee's finances appear in the statement for the fiscal year of September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, furnished by Miss Washington.

Littleton-Griswold Fund—Statement of receipts and disbursements, Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

	Receipts	Disbursements
Cash on hand Sept. 1, 1935.....	\$396. 81	
Interests:		
On investments.....	\$1, 000. 00	
On savings account.....	22. 44	
		1, 022. 44
Contribution from Mrs. Griswold.....		1, 000. 00
Proceeds of sales of publications:		
C. T. Bond, <i>Maryland Court of Appeals</i>	83. 22	
R. B. Morris, <i>Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City</i>	276. 95	
		360. 17
Carriage charges and advertising:		
Bond volume.....	2. 12	
Morris volume.....	40. 93	
		\$43. 05
Expenses incurred in connection with Andrews volume (<i>Records of Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island</i>).....		101. 50
Stationery, supplies, and other committee expenses.....		1. 75
Committee meetings.....		79. 04
Miscellaneous:		
Payment to Association for publications furnished Mrs. Griswold.....		5. 00
	2, 779. 42	230. 34
Cash on hand Aug. 31, 1936.....		2, 549. 08
	2, 779. 42	2, 779. 42

NOVEMBER 1, 1936.

FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK, *Chairman*.

THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

A year ago, in response to the request of the chairman, the Association granted a considerable increase in appropriation to this committee, which we pledged to use with diligence and care, and with the hope of success.

A report of the expenditure will constitute an account of our activities. Each member of the committee became chairman in charge of our activities in the region in which he lived and organized his campaign along his own lines, usually through State subchairmen. I cannot speak too much of the sacrifice in time and effort made by these men; an effort to describe it would be understatement, and I can only here express my thanks.

The central office of the committee assumed the task, with aid, of compiling a list of prospective members, without realizing the task involved. Using State chairmen, catalogs of the several colleges were examined and lists of faculty compiled. Finally, to complete the job, above 1,200 communications were addressed to the colleges themselves, asking for the names of the teachers of history. The resulting list of above 4,000 names of people professionally interested in history was checked against the membership in the Association. The above undertaking, as can be seen, occupied most of the spring and summer. It was not till the month of October that more than preliminary efforts were made to reach the nonmember historians. Since that time, upwards of 2,500 personally addressed letters have gone out to that list from this office, and these have been supplemented in many regions, and in some preceded, by hundreds of others. Some of the members of the committee have written to members of faculties who were members, asking their aid in personal solicitation of their nonmember colleagues.

The results of the campaign are not yet apparent. In the current week, I have sent in from this office some 60 names. How many have gone in from other members I do not at the moment know. I do think it is safe to say, however, that the current membership report does not represent the full effect; at any rate, I take comfort in that belief.

The problem of libraries and their subscriptions continues to be a worrisome one, and seems to the chairman to demand settlement. The failure of the "subscription" to carry membership is not understood, and earns for the Association—and I think also for Macmillan—a considerable amount of ill will. So long as the present arrangement continues, our membership list will fail to represent the real position of our Association in the circle of learned societies. The only solution which seems possible is a merger of the two lists, with appropriate financial adjustments, so that subscription to our publication and membership in our Association become interchangeable terms. In addition to the communications addressed to individuals, some thousands letters and cards were sent to libraries.

One final item remains to be reported. The expenditures of the committee total to date \$149.50, though there are a few small bills out unpaid. The difference between the budget request and the expenditure is not a margin of error on our part, but constitutes a contribution to the Association from our various institutions, in stenographic aid and other services. I cannot refrain from mentioning the fact that my own school, Wayne University, has given generously of my time, aid in the extensive clerical work involved, and stenographic services, and has also paid our bill for stationery and even postage on perhaps three-fourths of the total volume of mail sent out from this office. These aids and subsidies, which we had no reason to anticipate, have enabled us to do our work with nominal expense.

If I may be permitted, I would suggest that the unexpended balance of the last year's appropriation, together with the customary grant of \$50, be voted the committee for next year.

OCTOBER 28, 1936.

R. C. MILLER, *Chairman.*

THE COMMITTEE ON THE CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND FOR PUBLICATIONS

The committee begs leave to report as follows: We have published during the calendar year two volumes.

The Older Middle West by Prof. H. C. Hubbard.

The Estates-General of 1789 by Prof. M. B. Garrett.

This brings the number of volumes published by the committee to 18. Two are now being printed.

The Organization of the British Customs System by Miss Elizabeth G. Hoon, and *A Life of Albert Gallatin Brown* by Professor Ranck.

The former of these may appear before the Christmas meeting of the Association; the latter will be published in the spring of 1937.

Three manuscripts are now under consideration by the committee:

History of the Free City of Danzig by H. B. Foster, *The Overseas Dominions of France Since 1848* by Professor Priestley, and *The Three Emperors' Alliance* by Prof. John Hunziker.

A favorable decision on at least two of these seems probable.

The activities of the committee are evidently dependent on three factors: The funds at their disposal, the material submitted, and the requirements demanded by the committee. The first of these is unexpectedly favorable. The expense of the publication of the two volumes named above was \$2,346.12; the administrative expenses of the committee \$68.93. Toward the expense of the publication of one of these volumes, the American Council of Learned Societies contributed \$750. The income from royalties during the last fiscal year, September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, was \$1,742.94. There was also some income from interest on the fund, the amount of which can be found in the treasurer's account. The income of the committee was, therefore, almost exactly equal to its expenditures, and the capital of the fund, \$8,377.89 at the present time almost exactly the same as at the beginning of the year, \$8,517.21. The income from royalties during the last 2 or 3 years has about equaled in each year the cost of publication of one volume. Quite apart from the principal of the fund, therefore, at least one volume can usually be published. There is, besides, reason to anticipate that we can obtain a subsidy of a sufficient amount to pay for the publication of one volume a year from the American Council of Learned Societies. A grant of £50 was made this last year by the publication fund of the University of London toward the expense of Miss Hoon's book, above named.

As to the second factor, the number and quality of manuscripts submitted, there has been correspondence with several applicants, but no manuscripts have been actually presented except the three reported above as being now under consideration. It is felt that the committee might well receive and publish, if satisfactory in quality, a larger number of volumes. It seems hardly normal that a restricted fund of this kind should remain unexhausted after 8 years. It would be better, if good historical material is really in existence, its publication unprovided for, that this fund should be promptly spent, leaving only the strictly revolving portion, that is, the income from royalties and such special grants for specific volumes as may be made. By these means probably two volumes a year, possibly three, might be published indefinitely. At the present time there seems no greater demand under the restrictions the committee has so far imposed. These have been, apart from their demand for original and scholarly works, that we will publish no Ph. D. theses, no merely documentary material, and make no grants to other funds than our own. The impression of the committee is that sufficient opportunities will thus exist for the publication of all meritorious work of a historical nature which is brought actually to completion. Of course, writing that is intended, dreamed of, hoped for, or discussed is not within the purview of this committee, which is a strictly practical body.

OCTOBER 26, 1936.

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

THE COMMITTEE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL

For the early work of the committee we refer you to our report of December 24, 1935. In that document we discussed in detail the results of our examinations of the materials collected by Dr. Solon J. Buck, the former chairman of the committee. We outlined a tentative course of action which we thought would bring the work on the bibliography to a satisfactory conclusion. The executive committee encouraged us to pursue our suggestions and, in the light of our discoveries, to make final recommendations.

We had suggested in our report that, since the whole project was too difficult for any one editor, an editor be selected for each of the chronological periods. These chronological periods were then four in number. The executive committee suggested that the terminal date of the project might be made 1860, thus eliminating the last of the periods. The committee was then faced with the problem of finding only three editors, rather than four. This was the most difficult and critical part of our work.

The most vital period was that from the beginnings to 1750 and the finding of the appropriate editor proved to be the most difficult. Several distinguished scholars were approached. Each carefully considered the task. All thought that it was stupendous and exacting and, from a variety of motives, ultimately declined. It was then that we approached the Huntington Library, for we understood that the editing of this earliest period was really more than any one scholar, quite unaided, could be expected to accept. It was not a simple matter to persuade the Huntington Library to accept the responsibility. Negotiations dragged on for several months. But from the beginning they were definitely interested; that interest quickened and developed into enthusiasm. And within the past month your committee has received definite promises from Dr. Bliss that the library will assume responsibility for editing the materials for the earliest period. A highly competent bibliographer on the staff of the library, Mr. Herman R. Mead, will edit the materials. They are prepared to begin the work as quickly as this report has received the sanction of the executive committee.

The period from 1830 to 1860 (these were tentative dates) was next in point of difficulty. For the editorship of this volume we have secured the services of Dr. Michael Kraus of the department of history of the College of the City of New York.

The period from 1750 to 1830 was the section upon which Dr. Buck had concentrated most of his efforts. Consequently this is in the most completed state. There are some serious problems to be solved in connection with these materials and considerable yet to be done, but this period represented the least of our difficulties. The committee has under consideration two persons who might well complete this section.

In considering our earlier report the executive committee expressed some doubts concerning the possibilities of securing materials of value through the intervention of foreign ambassadors. We are happy to say that these doubts have not been justified. Through this channel we have already secured valuable materials on Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Russian, and Belgian travelers in the United States. We have been promised the services of advisory editors for Italian, German, Belgian, and French travelers, as we have described in our original report. The Committee for the Relief of Belgium Educational Foundation has promised to put to work on the collection of relevant materials in Belgian libraries two exceedingly competent persons. The Casa Italiana at Columbia University will assist with Italian travelers.

Having briefly stated our progress toward the achievement of the objects outlined in our earlier report, we are prepared to submit to the executive committee the following definite recommendations.

(1) That a general editorial committee of three or of five members be appointed to maintain a general supervision and to secure a certain uniformity of treatment in the entire work.

(2) That this committee be given the authority to make the final selection of editors for each of the three periods.

(3) That this committee be given the authority to appoint a small board of advisory editors—in order to utilize the proffered services of scholars who will be of great assistance in dealing with the problems of the foreign travelers.

(4) That the sum of \$3,000 be made available for the work of preparing the manuscripts of the three volumes for the printer. We originally estimated that \$4,000 would be required for the completion of the entire work up to 1900. The elimination of the last period reduces this sum by \$1,000. The \$3,000 would be allocated in this fashion: \$1,000 for the expenses of the editor of the period from the beginnings to 1750; \$1,000 for the expenses of the editor of the period from 1830 to 1860; and the remaining sum to be divided between the completion of the middle period and the expenses of the general editorial committee.

We firmly believe that we have arrived at a workable plan and that we have secured, or are about to secure, the scholars who can and will make that plan work. We have made no commitments; we have been dealing in tentatives. But, if action is taken by the executive committee to enable us to go forward with the bibliography, we feel that there will be an end to delays and that the bibliography will rapidly and satisfactorily take a final shape.

FRANK MONAGHAN, *Chairman*.

DECEMBER 1, 1936.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE GEORGE LOUIS BEER PRIZE

The George Louis Beer Prize committee wishes to report that it has voted unanimously against awarding the prize this year. Only one manuscript was submitted. The committee recommends that the conditions for the award be changed to read as follows:

"The George Louis Beer Prize is awarded for the best work upon any phase of the history of world affairs since 1870."

This would include studies in international relations and in the internal history of any country except the United States.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON, *Chairman*.

DECEMBER 1, 1936.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUSSERAND MEDAL

I have canvassed my colleagues on the committee for the Jusserand Medal and find that none of us feel that we have anyone to recommend for this award this year. There will be a book or two later in the fall which I thought might deserve serious consideration, but publication has been delayed to a point where consideration for this year will be impossible. The committee therefore reports that it has no award to make.

CARL WITKE, *Chairman*.

DECEMBER 9, 1936.

THE COMMITTEE ON AMERICANA FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIES

Herewith is submitted the annual report of the committee on Americana in college libraries, of the American Historical Association. This committee suffered an irreparable loss when on May 6, 1936, Mr. Tracy W. McGregor passed away in the city of Washington. Your committee was appointed originally to act in consultation with Mr. McGregor in his plan for placing in college libraries rare

and semirare books in American history. The offices of the plan and of your committee were Mr. McGregor's private office in Washington. The funds for the plan were supplied entirely through McGregor fund, a Michigan corporation.

During the summer following Mr. McGregor's death there were various conferences between the chairman of your committee and the trustees of the McGregor Fund. After some negotiation, a joint meeting of the trustees and your committee was held at the Library of Congress, October 20, 1936, at which the trustees formally asked your committee to assume the management of the plan and to accept the funds necessary to run it. The committee tentatively accepted the responsibility, but proposed that the funds be turned over to the American Historical Association, as a corporation, to be expended under the jurisdiction of your committee. Arrangements were then made for a joint meeting of your committee and the executive committee of the council of the American Historical Association to bring this about.

We now report the following colleges participating in the McGregor College Plan (the name which we shall give to this project):

Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Emory University, Emory University, Ga.
Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.
Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Mills College, Mills College, Calif.
Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.
Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.
William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.

The essence of the plan, as we reported last year, is this—that these colleges each appropriate \$500 per annum in addition to their regular library appropriations; that this sum be matched by the committee with another \$500; that the total \$1,000 per college be then spent on rare and semirare books in American history, to be purchased through the plan. Formerly this meant through Mr. McGregor's office; it now means through the director and assistant director of the plan. To take Mr. McGregor's place, the McGregor Fund has allowed us a sufficient sum to employ a director and an assistant director, as will be seen from the budget below. Your committee selected its chairman as director, and Miss Kathryn Slagle, secretary to the late Mr. McGregor, as assistant director. It is proposed to move the headquarters of the plan to the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor. A financial statement of the operation of the plan for the fiscal year July 31, 1935, to July 31, 1936, is appended to this report. These statements are certified by Price, Waterhouse & Co., Washington, auditors.

In reporting thus to the American Historical Association, we are glad to announce that the McGregor Plan will be carried on; that it will operate without requiring any funds from the Association; that negotiations are under way to increase to 15 (possibly to 25); the number of colleges participating and that during the spring of 1936, your chairman traveled 7,000 miles inspecting all of the colleges except Mills. Your chairman further reports that his visits to the various colleges encourage him to pronounce the plan a marked success. The fact that a certain number of rare books on American history have been placed in certain colleges is not the whole of the plan. The project is essentially an educational one, in which the collecting of rare Americana is being stimulated and the study of historical bibliography is being encouraged.

In conclusion, the committee wishes to express its deep sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. McGregor, who conceived this plan. The generous contribution of

his time and scholarly ability was as important as the gift of his funds. The committee feels that the Association will wish to express its thanks to the trustees of McGregor Fund who are so loyally and so generously continuing the work.

Statement of assets and liabilities, July 31, 1936

ASSETS		
Cash in bank and on hand		\$3, 310. 99
Inventory of books on hand, at cost		12, 622. 99
Debit balances of participating colleges		2, 405. 30
		18, 339. 28
LIABILITIES		
Due to estate of Tracy W. McGregor:		
Books purchased	\$1, 393. 86	
Expenses paid	118. 90	
	\$1, 512. 26	
Invoices payable	26. 50	
		\$1, 538. 76
Credit balances of participating colleges		2, 310. 42
Contributed surplus (see below)		14, 490. 10
		18, 339. 28
CONTRIBUTED SURPLUS		
Balance July 31, 1936		\$3, 205. 81
Contributions received during year	\$18, 000. 00	
Price adjustments on books, net	164. 75	
		18, 164. 75
Deduct:		21, 370. 56
Appropriations credited to colleges	\$3, 000. 00	
Special gifts	325. 00	
Bookplates, transportation charges, duty, and fees	665. 74	
Salaries	1, 395. 00	
Traveling expense	1, 250. 00	
Accounting services	200. 00	
Miscellaneous expenses	44. 72	
		6, 880. 46
Balance July 31, 1936, as above		14, 490. 10

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS, *Chairman.*

NOVEMBER 17, 1936.

THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS

In accordance with a recommendation of the council of the American Historical Association of February 1936, a committee on historical source materials was created, "charged with the entire interest and effort of the Association in respect to State and local archives and historical manuscripts, exclusive of their publication." In recognition of the different problems and the need of specialized study respecting public archives and historical manuscripts, the committee was divided into two subcommittees: (a) A subcommittee on public archives, and (b) a subcommittee on historical manuscripts.

Under the heads of the two subcommittees, the following developments during the year are deserving of consideration:

I. Subcommittee on public archives

During the year the Works Progress Administration officially sponsored several Nation-wide projects designed to provide employment to the white-collar classes,

four of which are of interest to the historical profession, and two of definite interest to the committee on historical source materials. Among these projects are the historical American buildings survey, the historic American merchant marine survey, the survey of Federal archives, and the survey of State and local historical records.

Of prime interest to the committee is the survey of State and local historical records (official project no. 65-1703), which until November 1, was one of the Federal writers' projects. National direction is being given the survey by Dr. Luther H. Evans, associate director of writers' projects and national supervisor of the survey. Until November 1, the survey was carried out largely through the organization developed for the writers' projects. The State directors of Federal writers' projects were designated the State supervisors of the survey, who, in most States, are assisted by assistant State supervisors devoting themselves exclusively to the survey. In most States, the survey was thus placed under the supervision of professionally qualified individuals, such as State historians, librarians, and archivists.

With respect to archives, the survey of State and local historical records is carrying out a number of the functions assigned to the committee on historical source materials. The survey is collecting and editing existing inventories of State and local archives, it is making inventories of State and local archives where adequate inventories have not already been made, and it is collecting information on and improving the care and condition of archives.

To accomplish its objectives, a *Manual of Procedure* was developed for the survey, containing instructions on the procedure to be followed in setting up the field organization and containing samples of forms to be used in compiling information, with instructions on their use. Subsequently, instructions were issued on the organization of the reports on county, municipal, and church archives. To bring about uniformity in organization, editorial directions and a completed sample guide to the Muskogee County (Okla.) archives were furnished to State supervisors. According to these specifications, the guides to county archives will be divided into two parts: (a) A description of the county and its record system, containing a historical sketch of the county, an outline of its governmental organization, and a statement regarding the housing, care, organization, and accessibility of its records; (b) a description of the county offices and their records, containing a listing of the records, which describes their title, date, content, arrangement, quantity, location, etc.

Employment on the survey gradually reached a peak of over 4,200 persons. Approximately the following number of field workers were employed: March 2,000, April 2,500, May 4,000, June 4,200, July 4,200, August 4,200, September 4,000, and October 4,000. Precedence was given to the inventorying of local archives. By November 1 the listing of county archives was completed in approximately 750 counties, the listing of municipal archives in approximately 1,000 towns and cities, and the listing of records of approximately 1,000 churches. By November 1 partial or complete guides to county archives were submitted for editorial review to the Washington office from most States.

Another Federal project of interest to the committee on historical source materials is the survey of Federal archives outside of the District of Columbia (official project no. 65-1709). Under authorization of the act creating it, the National Archives is acting as the cooperating sponsor of this project. Accordingly Dr. Philip M. Hamer, of the Division of Accessions of the National Archives, was designated by the Archivist as national director of the survey. For administrative purposes, the country was divided into 34 regions, in each of which a regional director, chosen on the basis of his professional qualifications, was placed in charge of the work.

This survey has as its purpose "to ascertain the exact location, the volume, and the conditions of storage of Federal archives; to identify them as regards their contents; and to furnish other information which may be of assistance in the formulation of recommendations designed to insure their safe preservation and to facilitate their use by officials and students." To accomplish this purpose, a *Manual of Procedure* was developed, containing instructions on the method of organizing the work of the survey, and on the method to be followed in compiling information on series of archives, on the agencies which accumulate them, and on the buildings and rooms in which they are accumulated. Subsequently a procedure was determined upon by which the information accumulated on the various reports are being edited. Upon completion of the work of the survey in any State, it is required that the regional director for that State prepare as part of his final report *A Guide to Federal Archives*. Under instructions issued, these guides will contain descriptions of the Federal archives by States, broken down by executive departments or independent establishments within the States, broken down by major administrative subdivisions within such agencies, and broken down by localities within which such major administrative subdivisions exist. Under each locality, the archives will be described by series by the minor administrative subdivisions of the major subdivisions of the agencies. Each series will be described by title, date, content, physical condition, and location, etc.

Employment on the survey reached a peak of about 3,200 in May. During March approximately 1,000 field workers were employed, during April 2,500, during May 3,200, during June 2,800, during July 2,600, during August 2,500, during September 2,400, and during October 2,300. By November 1, it is estimated that reports on series have been completed on approximately 85 percent of the archives in the field offices of the Federal Government. In May the work of editing these reports was begun in the Washington office, it was decentralized in October among the regional offices. By November 1, it is estimated that about 30 percent of the editorial work has been completed.

As a part of its regular activities, The National Archives, during the year, has continued its survey of the archives of the Federal Government within the District of Columbia, which by November 1, is about 80 percent complete. This survey, made by the Division of Accessions, is resulting in the accumulation of information on the physical volume and condition, on the contents, and on the conditions of storage of Federal archives, which may be of value in the accessioning, classification, and cataloging of such archives. In accordance with the resolutions of the National Archives Council, adopted February 10, 1936, the requisitioning of archives for transfer to the Archives Building has begun. On their receipt certain classes of archives, described periodically in the *American Historical Review*, are being organized for use by students and Government officials. In order to render archival service, the Division of Reference has completed, during the year, a survey of State laws governing public archives, and a survey of public and private depositories accumulating research materials in the United States.

In addition to the activities indicated above, innumerable projects of interest to the committee on historical source materials were sponsored locally by various public agencies and carried out under the Works Progress Administration. There were approximately 620 local archives projects authorized by presidential letters which related to county, town, and other local governmental units, and were designed to improve the condition and facilitate the use of archives. These projects provided for the indexing, cataloging, collating, codifying, classifying, arranging and transacting of such archives. In three States (in Alabama, Kentucky and Michigan), such projects were organized on a State-wide basis. There were

also about 20 similar local projects and 2 State-wide projects (in Michigan and North Dakota) relating to manuscripts; about 65 projects relating to local history, and numerous other projects relating to the indexing of newspapers and periodicals and to improving research materials in one way or another.

In the formulation of plans for the survey of Federal, State and local archives, members of the committee on historical source materials, whenever possible, offered their assistance. In developing plans for a survey of State and local historical records by relief labor, a step initially suggested by a member of the subcommittee on public archives (Francis S. Philbrick), both A. R. Newsome and Robert C. Binkley were drawn into frequent consultation by the National supervisor. Various previous plans, contained in the files of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, were discussed with the national supervisor. In the execution of the plans, Robert C. Binkley assisted as a field supervisor, Lester J. Cappon as assistant State supervisor in Virginia, and Theodore C. Blegen as a State supervisor in Minnesota. In developing plans for the survey of Federal archives outside the District of Columbia, T. R. Schellenberg as associate national director of the survey assisted in the preparation of the *Manual of Procedure* for making the survey, in organizing the work of the survey, and in the development of the procedure for editing the results of the survey, while in Minnesota Theodore C. Blegen, as regional director, assisted in the supervision of the survey.

In view of the extent of the activities carried on by various public agencies, it is obvious that the committee on historical source materials can best exercise its influence as a coordinating and advisory body. It is therefore confronted with the following questions:

Question 1.—How can the information that is being accumulated on the research value and availability of archives be made known to historical scholarship?

As a result of the various surveys of archival materials, comprehensive information will be accumulated within a few years on archives within the United States, whether Federal, State, or local. In most projects under way, guides and inventories are being prepared. Eventually a series of such guides and inventories will result, among which are the following:

(a) *Guides to county and local archives.*—By November 1, as indicated above, the work of compiling guides to county archives had just begun. A completed guide had been finished in one county only. By December 1, it is estimated that with the present quota of workers guides will be completed to the archives of about 30 percent of the counties. These guides, when completed, will be reproduced, and copies deposited at the leading research institutions of the country.

(b) *Guides to State archives.*—As is well known, reports on State archives were compiled for practically all States under the supervision of the Public Archives Commission, the functions of which were assigned to the sub-committee on public archives. Since 1900 the Public Archives Commission supervised the compilation of 59 reports on State and local archives, 54 of which were published in the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association from 1900 to 1917. During 1934 the archives of a number of additional State governments were surveyed by relief labor, as indicated in the report of the chairman of the Commission, dated December 28, 1934. During 1935 and 1936, this work was continued in a few States, particularly in South Carolina and New York, but precedence was given to work on local archival materials. In view of the enormous multiplication of State archives since the completion of the reports of the Public Archives Commission, should supplementary reports be prepared containing perhaps a brief description of the administrative organization of State government, of the functions of the various administrative units, and of the nature and location created by each of these units?

(c) *Guides to Federal archives by States.*—By November 1, as indicated above, the editorial work on guides to the archives of Federal agencies within States will be about 30 percent completed. According to plans now formulated, typewritten copies of these guides will be deposited in a few State institutions and in The National Archives. Should such guides be duplicated by photo-offset, mimeograph or hectograph, for distribution among leading research institutions?

(d) *Guides to Federal archives by agencies.*—The Archivist of the United States and the director of the National Historical Publications Commission are considering the feasibility of compiling and publishing a series of descriptive guides to the archives of the various executive departments and independent establishments of the Federal Government, incorporating the information accumulated by the Accessions Division of The National Archives and by the survey of Federal archives outside the District of Columbia. Such descriptive guides will perhaps contain a brief history of the administrative development of the agencies, a brief outline of their administrative organization, and a brief description of the functions of the various administrative units of the agencies, as a preliminary to the description of the archives which they accumulate. The description of the archives will perhaps include the title of the archival series or groupings of records, the dates of such series, a description of the contents of such series, and information on indexes to such series, and on the size, form, volume, location, and condition of such series. The guide will include descriptions of the archives of the field offices as well as of the central offices of the Federal agencies, indicating the relationship of the two, that is, whether duplicated, summarized, etc. Archives of field offices will not be listed by series but described by general types or classes, with an enumeration of the location of offices accumulating such types or classes.

Question 2.—How can the information that is being accumulated on the maintenance of archives be used to improve methods of preservation and administration?

As a result of the survey of State and local historical records, a great body of confidential data on the care and administration of local archival materials is being accumulated. This information furnishes the basis, in many instances, for specific recommendations on the improvement of archival conditions. Such recommendations cannot, for reasons of policy, be made by a Federal agency to a local governmental agency. If the files of this confidential information were made available to the subcommittee on public archives, should the committee act as liaison between the survey of State and local historical records and the local governmental agencies, and make recommendations with respect to the improvement of conditions of storage, housing, administration, and recommendations with respect to the passage of legislation designed to improve such conditions?

With the prospective organization of a society of American archivists, the committee of the American Historical Association will doubtless be relieved of many of its responsibilities with respect to the mechanics of archival procedure. It is being suggested, in a report on the preliminary plans for the organization of the society, that a committee on public relations be appointed "charged with the promotion of the public interest in archives and public support for efficient archival administration." Should the subcommittee on public archives resign its responsibilities regarding the improvement of archival conditions to this society?

II. Subcommittee on historical manuscripts

As was the case with regard to public archives, several projects, both Federal and local, pertaining to historical manuscripts were carried out with public funds during the year. Under the sponsorship of the Works Progress Administration, a few Nation-wide surveys relating to manuscripts were made. The historic American merchant-marine survey accumulated information from manuscript sources,

plans, and maps on the history of the American merchant marine. Two of the Federal writers' projects related to manuscripts. The American guide project occasionally used manuscript sources, while the project for the survey of State and local historical records, already noted, has as a definite objective the collecting of information on the existence and general character of collections of historical materials throughout the country. In addition, a few States carried on State-wide manuscript projects. In Michigan, the State Historical Commission sponsored a house-to-house search for existing materials of historical importance and a listing of the same. In North Dakota, the State Historical Society directed a State-wide project to reclassify, rehabilitate, and translate records and historical documents. In a score of localities, relief projects were organized by historical societies or governmental agencies to improve the conditions of maintenance and to facilitate the use of manuscript resources.

Important work in manuscripts was done, also, with private funds. The American Association of Research Libraries developed a cooperative project among a number of research institutions, which provided for the annual listing of manuscript accessions of scholarly interest or historical value. According to its plans, descriptive reports of collections of manuscripts are prepared by the cooperating institutions, which include the name of the collection, its inclusive dates, the locality to which it belongs, a descriptive title and notes, including names of famous men, the number of pieces, etc. These reports, after having been tabulated by the secretary of the association, are sent to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress for permanent preservation and for editing.

Important additions were made during the year to the check-lists or guides to manuscript collections in various repositories or localities. *A Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, prepared by Grace Le Nute and Gertrude W. Ackermann, appeared late in 1935, which by its merits of style and arrangement sets an example to other institutions in the compilation of similar guides. Mr. Lester J. Cappon, likewise, has in progress a *Guide to Manuscript Sources and Collections in Virginia*, which will make available to research students the results of a comprehensive inventory of original records available or which can be made accessible.

In view of the fact that during the past year relatively little progress was made with respect to manuscripts as compared with the progress in work on public archives, the committee on historical source materials is confronted with the following questions:

Question 1.—What steps should be taken to promote the work of accumulating information on the existence, content, and location of the manuscript resources of this country?

Since the survey of State and local historical records will require considerable time, at least another full year, to complete its present program, plans should be prepared for effective work on manuscripts while the survey of local archives is in progress or after the completion of the survey of local archives.

(a) If work on manuscripts is to be done effectively in conjunction with work on local archives, should not a separate unit be created in the central office of the State and local historical records survey to deal exclusively with manuscripts? This unit, headed by a professionally qualified individual, should prepare a program of work on manuscripts, which could be completed by stages, so that whenever relief funds might be cut off, a definite stage of the work would be finished. This unit, further, should carefully define the procedure for each of the stages of the program, adapting the procedure to the capacities of relief workers, and progressively training the workers for the more difficult stages of the program.

(b) If work on manuscripts is to be carried on effectively after the completion of the work on local archives, should not information be accumulated preliminary to long-range planning of work on manuscripts? Should not a preliminary survey

of institutions in this country be undertaken to determine the volume of manuscript material in their custody, the proportion of this volume under control, and the method by which this proportion was placed under control for exploitation by scholarship? The purpose of this survey would be to ascertain the location of manuscript material and to determine the type of work necessary to make such material available to scholarship. In determining the volume, the linear footage of manuscript materials of varying sizes existing in any institution might be estimated on the basis of a rapid inspection of the same by a surveyor. Estimates as to the proportion of the above volume under control might be secured from the custodian. Information might be secured on the method of control, among which are inventories, finding lists, guides (whether published or unpublished), indexes, catalogs, classifications, etc. In brief, this preliminary survey should accumulate and organize the basic information for any long-range program with respect to manuscripts.

Question 2.—What steps should be taken to make available to historical scholarship the information that has been or may be accumulated on the manuscript resources of this country?

With the development of the project for the annual listing of manuscript accessions by the American Association of Research Libraries, historical scholarship will be informed of the content and location of manuscript collections which are being or may be acquired by a number of research institutions. Information on the great mass of manuscript materials not included in the project of the American Association of Research Libraries, namely, manuscript collections not yet acquired or already acquired by research institutions, might be made available by the preparation of the following:

(a) *A comprehensive guide to manuscript collections.*—A comprehensive guide might consist of an alphabetical listing of manuscript collections throughout the country. Similar to the listings of accessions by the American Association of Research Libraries, each listing, made usually by groups, but in the case of especially important items, by individual documents, would include the name of the collection, its inclusive dates, the subjects, regions, and persons dealt with, the number of pieces, etc. The guide, on completion, would include a detailed index to the listings, by persons, places, subjects, and periods covered. When completed, the guide would be published for distribution among research institutions.

In the compilation of such a guide, the basic data might be accumulated by various methods. Standard letter-size forms developed by the survey of State and local historical records might be used to secure a descriptive inventory of manuscript materials in historical societies, libraries, and in private hands. Standard letter-size questionnaires might be used by committees of organizations such as the American Historical Association, the American Legal History Society, the American Military History Foundation, the Naval Historical Foundation, the American Society of Church History, and others, to secure appraisals of manuscript collections from the individual members of such organizations.

These forms and questionnaires might be edited by the survey of State and local historical records on 5 by 8 slips in accordance with a well-defined plan of procedure. Similarly, existing published sources might be exploited by this survey to secure information on manuscript collections, to be compiled on 5 by 8 slips. Included among such published sources might be bibliographies and listings of manuscript collections published by institutions, such as the Library of Congress, bibliographical articles in historical periodicals, and bibliographical discussions in scholarly works such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Printed information on manuscript collections contained in scholarly monographs and in other scattered places might be brought together for transcription by means of microphotography. Thus, there would be collected in the office of the survey a file of 5 by 8 slips, containing listings of manuscripts by collections or by individual items,

if particularly important, which would furnish the basis for the publication of a comprehensive guide to the manuscript resources of this country. While this file is being accumulated, an index to each of the listings would be prepared on 3 by 5 cards.

(b) *A union list of manuscript collections.*—Information on manuscript collections, accumulated by the methods outlined above, might constitute the basis for a union listing of manuscripts. Instead of organizing the information on listings of manuscript collections by means of an index, this information in a union list would have to be organized under a system of classification, with elaborate cross-references and other refinements. Instead of publishing the information in an expensive comprehensive guide, it would be made available to leading research institutions by periodical cheap reproduction of the union list by means of micro-photography. Instead of the accumulation of information resulting in a completed project, the union list would constitute a continuing one, and would have to be administered by a permanent institution, like the Library of Congress.

T. R. SCHELLENBERG, *Chairman.*

FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK,

A. R. NEWSOME,

ROBERT C. BINKLEY,

Subcommittee on Public Archives.

JULIAN P. BOYD,

LESTER J. CAPPON,

THEODORE C. BLEGEN,

Subcommittee on Historical Manuscripts.

OTHER REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WASHINGTON OFFICE

In the absence of the chairman, Mr. McGuire, of the special committee consisting of Mr. McGuire, Miss Washington, and myself, on the Washington office of the American Historical Association, I beg to present the following report:

After several conferences earlier in the year, Miss Washington was instructed to canvass the possibilities for suitable office space, preferably in the center of the city and in a location that would be convenient to the Association's bank. It was agreed that, if possible, a substantial reduction in the cost of the office—rent, maintenance, etc.—should be secured.

The committee met in Mr. McGuire's office on Saturday, August 22, and Miss Washington reported on suitable and possible locations in several downtown buildings. Of these locations, the committee selected the three lowest in price from which to make a selection. The prices were \$40, \$42.50, and \$46, respectively. After a personal inspection by myself, it was decided to take the office at \$42.50 per month. This is Room 509 in the Union Trust Building, located on Fifteenth Street between Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street, directly opposite the Woodward Building, where the offices of the Association were for so many years located in the space occupied by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The room is 16 by 16 feet, and contains sufficient space for the office furniture and for the books and the current files.

This represents a saving of approximately \$20 a month over the present cost of the offices at 40 Independence Avenue, SW. For these the rental is \$50, but electricity, janitor, and other service charges bring the average monthly cost up to \$62.50.

It will, however, be necessary to place the dead files of the Association in storage, and for this purpose a room 9 by 8 feet in the Fidelity Storage Co.'s warehouse on U Street will be secured at a cost of \$7 per month. It is not proposed, however,

to incur this storage charge indefinitely, since an active effort will be made during the next year to reduce the back files by the destruction of material having no importance for the affairs of the Association nor interest for its history. I believe that by next spring the reduction may have reached such proportions that it may be possible to store the files that are to be permanently preserved in the office of the Association, or at any rate to place them in a smaller and consequently cheaper warehouse room.

Since the same real estate company is the agent both for the Union Trust Building and the building in which the offices are now located, it has been possible to make an elastic arrangement whereby the removal can take place at any time during September, consequently the offices will remain at 40 Independence Avenue SW., for 2 or 3 weeks longer, and then will be moved to the Union Trust Building.

One advantage of location in the Union Trust Building is that the principal bank of the Association in Washington is the Union Trust Co., located on the first floor of that building.

I am satisfied that the committee has done as well as it could be reasonably expected to do. Office space is in much demand in Washington at the present time, and it is not easy to find space in conveniently located buildings.

WALDO G. LELAND.

AUGUST 26, 1936.

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR OF *The American Historical Review*

Volume XLI of the *Review* (October 1935-July 1936) was edited by Mr. Henry E. Bourne. It carried 877 pages, including the annual index of 20 pages. Twelve major articles were published, including the Presidential Address and the account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Chattanooga. Seven of the articles were in the field of American history, three (including the presidential address) in European history, and one in Chinese history.

On July 1 the editorial office of the *Review* was removed from 40 Independence Avenue SW., Washington, to 535 West 114 Street, New York City, its present address, on which date Mr. R. L. Schuyler succeeded Mr. Bourne as managing editor. Miss Eleanor D. Smith, who had served for 3 years as editorial assistant, remained with the *Review*, her present title being assistant editor. Since the removal to New York only one number of the *Review* (October) has been published. In this some changes were made in format and organization, which were described in a communication from the managing editor to members of the board of editors of the *Review*, dated October 2, 1936. It seemed likely that the new format, in which magazine articles are listed in tabular form, would add slightly to the printing cost, but it now appears improbable that this will be the case since the lists of articles and the book notices are printed in smaller type than formerly. No further changes in format are now contemplated. It is gratifying to be able to report that the William Byrd Press gave hearty cooperation and helpful advice in effecting the changes that were made.

One very serious problem confronts the *Review*, the problem of finance. According to a statement received from the Washington office of the Association the expenditure on account of the *Review* for the year September 1, 1935, to August 31, 1936, was \$6,623.74, of which \$6,133.30 was disbursed for salaries. The total budget under which it is now operating is only \$6,000, of which \$4,600 is appropriated to the salaries of the managing editor and assistant editor, leaving \$1,400 for all other expenses. Our minimum estimate of necessary expenditures is as follows:

Postage and express (petty cash)-----	\$250
Stationery-----	150
Lists of articles, contributors paid at \$3 per page-----	200
Office expenses, telephone, etc-----	50
Total -----	650

This leaves a balance of only \$750 for office assistance, and even that amount is not available this year, as we had to incur some nonrecurrent expenses—\$105 for a typewriter (a noiseless was necessary, to avoid disturbing other offices in our corridor) and \$7.63 for a table. When the *Review* was in Washington, half of the time of an assistant (Mrs. Pierce), who received a salary of \$1,800, was allocated to the *Review*.

The present managing editor has had sufficient experience to convince him that the *Review* cannot be carried on efficiently unless the amount available for office assistance is increased. At present we have the services of a very competent typist and stenographer, but we can neither employ her for hours enough to do the work that ought to be done, nor pay her adequately for the work she does. The present managing editor is unable to give as large a part of his time to the *Review* as his predecessor did, and the assistant editor has been obliged to devote her entire time to strictly editorial work. In consequence, it has been necessary to discontinue work on the 10-year index, which the assistant editor had almost completed (with the assistance of Mrs. Pierce) before the *Review* left Washington. The lack of this index, apart from the inconvenience caused to all persons who use the *Review*, involves us in constant, time-consuming searches in the indexes of the separate volumes. We are unable, moreover, to check references in articles submitted by contributors as carefully and completely as is desirable.

In connection with the reviewing of books the *Review* is badly in need of an up-to-date and comprehensive file of the names and addresses of historical scholars, classified by historical fields and periods, in order to enlarge and improve the quality of the constituency on which to draw for reviewing. We have received history announcements from the leading universities of this country and Canada, and on the basis of the information these contain, such a file could be compiled, but this work cannot be undertaken on the present budget.

We feel strongly that the *Review* should be an enterprising and growing representative of the American historical world. The cuts in its budget that have been made in the last few years, however necessary they may have been, have undoubtedly limited the success and the services which the *Review* is capable of rendering. Funds seem to be forthcoming for many scholarly undertakings, but it should not be forgotten, we think, that the *Review* is the organ of the American Historical Association, affording a medium for the publication of significant contributions made by its members and representing it in the learned world both at home and abroad. To starve it would not seem to be a wise policy for the Association to pursue.

ROBERT L. SCHUYLER.

NOVEMBER 14, 1936.

REPORT OF THE EDITOR ON THE STATE OF PUBLICATIONS

Writings on American History, 1932, is now in page proof and is scheduled for January publication. This will complete the 1931 *Annual Report* (this volume was substituted for the Bemis-Griffin *Guide* originally intended for vol. III but which was published by the Library of Congress when our appropriation was temporarily discontinued).

The *Annual Report* for 1932, in one volume, covering proceedings for that year, has long since been published.

Writings on American History, 1933, which will constitute the *Annual Report* for 1933, is in galley proof and is scheduled for spring publication.

Writings on American History, 1934, which will constitute the *Annual Report* for 1934, is in process of compilation and will be ready for composition by July 1937.

Proceedings, 1933, 1934, and 1935, which will constitute volume I of the *Annual Report* for 1935, is in page proof and is scheduled for publication late in December.

Writings on American History, 1935, which will complete the *Annual Report* for 1935, will be compiled starting next July, by which time delayed periodicals will have been received.

Thus, at length, we are catching up on arrearages arising out of the unexpected discontinuance of our printing allowance as part of the national economy program and, should the customary grant be made for next year, we will be publishing on schedule henceforth. It should be noted that *Writings* must always lag about 2 years behind date of publication because of the tardy appearance of many of the periodicals involved.

Somewhat over \$4,000 of the current \$8,000 allotment which must be expended by July 1, 1937, will be on hand after the *Proceedings, 1933, 1934, and 1935* volume will have appeared. This will make possible another volume. It is suggested that, instead of waiting until the last few days of the fiscal year and then submitting *Writings* for 1934 as a charge against the current balance, the 1936 *Proceedings* volume be prepared at the earliest possible date so that it may be published before the 1937 annual meeting or soon thereafter.

The credit balance of some \$4,000 will permit the publication of a fairly substantial volume including material in addition to the proceedings themselves. The following matter which is available offers considerable selection, and instructions are desired.

(1) The council minutes from December 1899 through 1910 have never been published. They exist in the form of 118 typed pages in the hands of the assistant secretary-treasurer. Following the suggestion of the committee on publication of the *Proceedings* rendered last year,¹ that the Association should make easily available records from which its own history could be written, it would seem highly desirable to get these minutes into print and avoid the danger of their being lost or destroyed.

(2) There has been in my possession for several years an annotated transcript of a Joseph Fauchet manuscript prepared for publication by Dr. Carl Lokke, now of The National Archives. It is entitled *Mémoire sur les Etats Unis d'Amérique* and runs 103 typed pages as follows: 80 pages of manuscript, 10 pages of Fauchet's notes, and 13 pages of Lokke's notes. The committee on publications, in its report of November 12, 1934,² recommended that this be printed as soon as conditions permitted.

(3) The *Instructions from the British Foreign Office to British Ministers in the United States, 1791-1812*, referred to in the record of the executive committee meeting of March 30, 1935,³ are being edited under Dr. Jameson's direction by Dr. Bernard Mayo and will have been completed for press within a few months. As yet, no estimate can be given respecting its length.

It is suggested that, when the exact balance remaining from the current allotment is known, estimates be secured to include as much of the above material as possible within that balance and that preference be given to the several items in the order indicated, the final decision to be made by the executive secretary, and that he be authorized to issue instructions to the editor, such instructions being based on the estimates received from the Government Printing Office.

Attention is directed to the mounting cost of *Writings*. The 1924 volume came to \$2,833.34; the 1929 one to \$3,277.16; that for 1931 to \$3,734.44; while the estimate

¹ *Annual Report* for 1935, Vol. I, pp. 174, 175.

² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

for the 1933 one is \$4,198.51 and will, in all likelihood, cost more as estimates are almost invariably exceeded. While *Writings* is without doubt one of the Association's most valuable publications and wins constant praise both here and abroad, the question arises whether the time has not come to adopt the principle of selecting items for listing rather than making it all-inclusive. The point where some such step must be taken is always reached in bringing out works of this nature. In view of the fact that our appropriation for printing is very unlikely to exceed \$8,000 a year for an indefinite period and that a cut may occur at any time, the question of whether over half of that sum should be spent on *Writings* merits careful consideration. The editor, who is not a specialist in American history and who views the matter solely from the financial angle, has no opinion to offer on the advisability of adopting the principle of careful selection of items for inclusion in the volume but draws attention to the fact that such action has ultimately had to be taken in the case of other national bibliographies and that it is rigidly followed in compiling the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

NOVEMBER 18, 1936.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF "THE SOCIAL STUDIES"

The executive board has held three meetings since November 15, 1935, the date of the previous annual report.

On February 13 the board discussed and confirmed existing editorial policies, suggesting minor changes in "Current Events in World Affairs", and in leader articles. Dissatisfaction was expressed with the existing publishing contract and Mr. Read was appointed to take up with the McKinley Co. the questions of changes in the contract and a more adequate promotion program.

The following changes in the personnel of the board were recommended to the executive committee of the American Historical Association, which subsequently adopted the proposals:

Erling M. Hunt, Teachers College, Columbia University, to succeed George S. Counts; also to succeed Charles A. Beard as chairman of the board.

Howard E. Wilson, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the National Council for the Social Studies, in place of Bessie L. Pierce.

Donnal V. Smith, State Teachers College, Albany, N. Y., in place of Edgar Dawson.

Mrs. Margaret A. Koch, Fieldston School, New York City, in place of Max Lerner.

Ruth Wanger, South Philadelphia High School for Girls, in place of Alice N. Gibbons.

In accordance with fixed policy, R. L. Ashley, J. L. Barnard, May L. Denham, E. P. Smith, Lena C. Van Bibber, and Ruth West retired from the board of advisory editors, and were replaced by Howard R. Anderson, Mary E. Christy, Harley S. Graston, Eugene Hilton, George J. Jones, and Jasper J. Stahl.

It was suggested that the new chairman consider the advisability of new funds for the magazine, and that the reconstituted board meet before the close of the academic year.

The reconstituted board met on April 26. Messrs. Hunt (chairman), Read, and Wilson were appointed members of the executive committee.

Dissatisfaction was expressed with the existing publishing contract. Mr. Kimmel was requested to prepare estimates of the probable costs and the probable income of the present magazine and it was agreed that the executive committee, after considering the estimates, should make plans for revising the contractual arrangements with the McKinley Co., and if advisable should consider other publishing arrangements. The possibility of establishing a new magazine was explored.

It was voted to discontinue the department "Current Events in World Affairs" conducted by Mr. Smith. It was decided, in view of the death of Albert E. McKinley, who had held the title of "editor", to change the title "managing editor" to "editor."

The executive committee subsequently considered Mr. Kimmel's estimates of costs and income for a new magazine and concluded that our resources were not adequate to justify such an enterprise unaided. Messrs. Read and Hunt found C. S. McKinley unwilling to modify the existing publishing arrangements in any way. Several publishing houses were then approached, and the American Book Co. was found to be much interested in publishing a magazine which should be owned and edited by the American Historical Association and which should be the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies. In August the executive committee submitted the outline of a publishing arrangement with the American Book Co. to the executive committee of the American Historical Association, with a recommendation that the McKinley contract be terminated at the end of the present calendar year, and that the required 60 days' notice be given. The executive committee of the American Historical Association authorized this action, adopted a budget for editorial expense through December 31, 1936, and a budget for the period January 1, 1937, through August 31, 1937, and authorized the negotiation of a publishing contract for a new magazine subject to the approval of the Association. The contract has been drawn, with the aid of an attorney, has been tentatively approved by the American Book Co., and has been approved by the executive board of the magazine, and is now before the American Historical Association for action. The McKinley Co. was duly notified of the termination of the present contract with them effective December 31.

Since *The Social Studies* remains the property of the McKinley Publishing Co., and the company declines to sell its interest for a price which the executive committee can recommend to the American Historical Association, the basic subscription list of the proposed new magazine will be the membership list of the National Council for the Social Studies. Mr. Wilson, as secretary of the National Council, requested that the relation of that body to the magazine and the executive board be reconsidered and redefined. A draft agreement between the American Historical Association and the National Council in regard to the magazine has been prepared, approved by the executive board in draft form, and is before the American Historical Association and the National Council for their action.

Mr. Kimmel submitted his resignation as editor of *The Social Studies* on April 30, to take effect August 15. After canvassing the possibilities with care, and consulting with members of the board and others, the executive committee recommended that Erling M. Hunt be appointed editor effective August 15, and that provision be made for an assistant editor. The executive committee of the American Historical Association confirmed the recommendations in August. Dr. Katharine Elizabeth Crane became assistant editor on September 1.

Few changes in editorial policy have been made. In accordance with the views expressed in the April meeting of the board, an effort will be made to include much material of practical value to teachers, reviews will be directed toward teachers, increased attention will be given to textbooks and other teaching materials, and an editorial page has been added. Experimental attempts are being made to note, informally, outstanding magazine articles of interest to teachers, and to survey systematically the articles in educational magazines which relate to history and social studies teaching. Meanwhile plans for the new magazine are being developed.

ERLING M. HUNT, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ASSOCIATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

The meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, postponed from 1935, was held in Bucharest on April 13–16, 1936; a summary report of the proceedings is printed in the committee's *Bulletin No. 30*.

Unfortunately neither of the American members of the committee (W. E. Dodd and Waldo G. Leland) was able to attend.

The treasurer reported receipts in 1935 of 22,241 Swiss francs of which 12,143 francs were derived from the Rockefeller Foundation subvention and 7,687 francs from the annual dues of member countries. Expenditures for 1935 were 13,102 francs. A budget of estimated administrative expenditures for 2 years was adopted amounting to 21,200 francs in 1936 and 17,200 francs in 1937, to which should be added estimated expenditures for publications of 20,450 francs in 1936 and 15,450 francs in 1937, producing estimated deficits for the 2 years of 12,411 francs and 15,150 francs, respectively.

The president of the committee, H. W. V. Temperley, and the undersigned are now engaged in negotiations for further assistance from American foundations to carry on the committee's work.

American participation in the work of the committee has been forwarded by several appointments of Americans for members of subcommittees as follows: Committee on archives, Robert D. W. Connor, Archivist of the United States; committee on the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies; committee on diplomatic history, Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; committee on iconography, Leicester B. Holland, Library of Congress; committee on historical geography, Charles O. Paullin, Carnegie Institution of Washington; committee on chronology, John L. LaMonte, University of Cincinnati.

Three *Bulletins* have been published by the committee in 1936: No. 30 contains "Analyses of the Principal Historical Works Published in the Hungarian Language, 1926–1932"; No. 31 is devoted to a "World List of Historical Reviews", 2,317 in number; No. 32 contains the "Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw, 1933."

The publication of two more volumes of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* (No. VI for 1931, and No. VIII for 1933) fills the last gap in the series and makes it possible now to be assured of publication of the annual volumes at regular intervals.

The committee on diplomatic¹ history has published the first volume of its *Repertory of the Diplomatic Representatives of all Countries since the Peace of Westphalia, 1648*, which brings the record to 1715. This is one of the most important of the many enterprises that the subcommittees are carrying on; it has involved a vast amount of research in many countries and has enlisted the cooperation of a large number of scholars of different nationalities.

Preparations for the eighth international congress of historical sciences, to be held in Zurich in 1938, are well under way, and the invitations to send delegates to it will soon be dispatched to learned bodies, institutions, and historical agencies.

It is the belief of the undersigned that American historians will find the activities and publications of the international committee of increasing interest and value, and that it is desirable for them to participate to the fullest extent in the committee's work. This can be done partly, of course, through the American members of the subcommittees, and through the American delegates in the committee itself, but it is of first importance that the publications of the committee, especially the *Bulletin* and the *International Bibliography*, should receive a far wider distribution in the United States than they now enjoy. The distribution of the *Bibliography* amounts at present to only 84 copies, and should reach at least 300, while

the distribution of the *Bulletin*, the contents of which are of wide interest, is negligible.

It is recommended that the annual dues of the United States, paid by the American Historical Association, be increased from 250 to 300 Swiss franc (*ca.* \$69), as some of the member countries have already done (Great Britain, France, Switzerland), and that the usual provision, in the amount of \$200, be made for compiling the American entries in the *International Bibliography*.

WALDO G. LELAND.

DECEMBER 14, 1936.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ASSOCIATION ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social Science Research Council has pursued during the past year two principal lines of activity. The one involved financing by the council; the other involved no financing by the council.

I. *Financed by council during 1935-36*

A. *Development of research personnel.*

(1) Eight predoctoral fellowships, open to candidates entering on graduate study, in the amount of \$12,200; seven renewals and eight new appointments for 1936-37; and continuation of awards for 1937-38.

(2) Twenty-four predoctoral field fellowships, open to candidates having completed all requirements for the doctor's degree except the dissertation, in the amount of \$39,700; 10 appointments for 1936-37; and continuation of awards for 1937-38.

(3) Thirteen postdoctoral fellowships in the amount of \$40,500; 1 renewal and 11 new appointments for 1936-37; and continuation of awards for 1937-38.

(4) Special graduate training courses in agricultural economics and rural sociology (Washington, D. C.); and continuation during 1936-37.

B. *Improvement and dissemination of research materials.*

(5) Preparation of a *Manual on Methods of Reproducing Research Materials* (in press).

C. *Promotion of research projects.*

(6) Completion of a study of population redistribution in the United States, published in one volume and four monographs.

(7) Final revision of a study of the measurement and growth of capital in the postwar period, and prosecution of a study of real-estate financing—sections of a broad study of banking and credit in relation to economic stability.

(8) Initiation of studies related to social-security legislation.

(a) Agencies and personnel in the field.

(b) Federal relief experience during the depression: Description of development of policies and analysis of effects.

(c) Unemployment relief practices and policies in the State of New Jersey.

(d) Veterans' pensions in relation to old-age security programs.

(e) Financial experience of governmental old-age pension systems in other countries.

(f) Coordination of administration of the social insurances in other countries.

(g) Composition of the labor market; supply, character, distribution, recent changes, and seasonal and cyclical fluctuations.

(h) Regional labor markets.

(9) Recording and analysis of administrative policies and practices of the Federal Social Security Board.

(i) Administration of public employment offices.

- (j) Administration of unemployment insurance.
- (k) Administration of old-age assistance.
- (l) Federal-State administrative relations.
- (m) Administration of grants in aid to local authorities in England.
- (10) Continuation of study of the Works Progress Administration.
- (11) Completion of study of the "label" codes under the National Recovery Act.
- (12) Forty-eight grants in aid to scholars of proved competence to assist in the completion of research of special significance, in the amount of \$22,100; and 40 new grants to be available in 1936-37.

II. *Activities not financed by the council beyond expenditures for planning, advice, and promotion*

A. *Relation to research organizations.*

(1) Promotion of cooperation among university social research organizations and among students of different sciences in geographical areas or in particular fields of inquiry.

(2) Advice to various agencies on organization, personnel, and research programs.

(3) Participation with the National Research Council and the American Council on Education (a) in a technical advisory committee to the National Resources Committee, and (b) in a committee of review of the Laboratory of Anthropology at Santa Fe, N. Mex.

B. *Relation to personnel.*

(4) Study of qualifications of a selected group of applicants for entrance to graduate schools.

C. *Relation to research materials.*

(5) Planning of Nation-wide inventory of archives, manuscripts, and general historical materials, and for reproduction, indexing, and digesting of materials (Taken over by Works Progress Administration.)

D. *Relation to research projects.*

(6) Planning of studies in the field of social security (of which a number have been noted among activities financed by the council).

(7) Planning of studies in the field of public administration (of which a number related to administration of social security have been noted among activities financed by the Council).

(8) Planning by committees of continuous development of existing nuclei of knowledge around selected points.

(9) Planning of studies of the social effects of economic depression.

(10) Survey of research in the field of forest economics.

E. *Relation to the social utility of the social sciences.*

(11) Planning of studies on the role of freedom of inquiry in society.

The council met 4 days during the year, in September and April. There has been a continuation of the generous support given by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the Russell Sage Foundation. New grants made to the council in 1935-36 totaled \$319,250; of which \$150,000 was for fellowships, \$25,000 for national grants in aid, \$10,000 for southern grants in aid, \$18,750 for general administration, \$80,000 for studies of administrative aspects of social security, \$20,000 for a study of administrative aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and \$15,500 for regional studies of the labor market.

On behalf of G. S. Ford, R. F. Nichols, A. M. Schlesinger.

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Conference of historical societies.—Christopher B. Coleman, *secretary*, State Library and Historical Building, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

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Committee on bibliography of American travel.—Frank Monaghan, *chairman*, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harry M. Lydenberg, New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.

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REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN ALLIED BODIES

Social Science Research Council.—Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (for a 3-year term, ending in 1939).

American Council of Learned Societies.—Edward P. Cheyney, R. F. D. No. 3, Media, Pa. (term expires in 1938). W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (for a term of 4 years, ending in 1940).

International Committee of Historical Sciences, delegates.—Waldo G. Leland, 907 Fifteenth Street, NW., Washington, D. C.; William E. Dodd, The American Embassy, Berlin; *Subcommittee on archives.*—Robert D. W. Connor, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.; *Subcommittee on diplomatic history.*—Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; *Subcommittee on chronology.*—John L. La Monte, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.; *Subcommittee on historical iconography.*—Leicester Holland, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. *Subcommittee on historical geography.*—Charles O. Paullin, 1718 N Street NW., Washington, D. C.; *Subcommittee on the "International Bibliography of Historical Sciences."*—Waldo G. Leland, 907 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, DECEMBER 28-29, 1936

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held at Mills College, Oakland, Calif., on Monday and Tuesday, December 28-29, 1936. A committee consisting of Profs. G. H. Guttridge (chairman), Giovanni Costigan, Donald Rowland, and Richard W. Van Alstyne prepared the program, and local arrangements were in charge of Profs. Cardinal Goodwin, Robert J. Parker, and Paul B. Schaeffer.

The president of the Pacific coast branch, Prof. Percy A. Martin, presided over the Monday morning session, which was devoted to the following papers: *Denmark, Russia, and the Swedish Revolution, 1480-1520*, by Prof. Waldemar Westergaard of the University of California at Los Angeles; *The Dutch Archives for American History*, by Mr. E. Sluiter; *The Genesis of the Bavarian Toleration Reforms under Montegelas*, by Prof. H. C. Vedeler of the University of Idaho; and *British Labor and President Wilson During the Peace Conference*, by Prof. Carl F. Brand of Stanford University.

At the luncheon, the work of the historical records survey under the Works Progress Administration was described by Prof. Francis J. Bowman of Washington State College, and Prof. Louis K. Koontz raised the question of the formation of a Pacific Historical Association.

The afternoon session, under the chairmanship of Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, was devoted to historiography. The principal paper on *Edward Gibbon*, was read by Prof. James Westfall Thompson of the University of California. Prof. Max Savelle of Stanford University, who had prepared *Some Thoughts Towards a Pragmatic Philosophy of History*, was prevented from attending the meeting by a sudden illness, but the paper was read by his colleague, Prof. Charles A. Barker.

At the annual dinner on Monday evening, President Percy A. Martin addressed the members on *Portugal in America*.

Prof. C. C. Eckhardt presided over the session on Tuesday morning, at which Prof. Merle Curti, of Smith College, presented *A Functional Theory of American Intellectual History*. The discussion which followed was led by Profs. Charles A. Barker, Gilbert Chinard, and John T. Ganoë.

The luncheon meeting on Tuesday, held jointly with the Pacific division of the American Philosophical Association, was addressed by Prof. Frederick Anderson of Stanford University and Gilbert Chinard of the University of California.

The Tuesday afternoon session, with Prof. H. A. Hubbard as chairman, was devoted to the following papers on the Americas: *The Articles of Confederation: A Re-Interpretation*, by Prof. Merrill M. Jenson of the University of Washington; *President Jackson's Propaganda Agencies*, by Prof. E. M. Eriksson of the University of Southern California; *The American Civil War as a Factor in Montana Territory*, by Prof. R. E. Albright of the University of Montana; and *The Statesmanship of Rio Branco*, by Prof. Frederic W. Ganzert of the University of Utah.

The business meeting followed the Tuesday morning session. After the report of the secretary-treasurer, the problems of the *Pacific Historical Review* were presented by Prof. Louis K. Koontz. The resignation of Prof. John C. Parish as managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* was read and accepted. The committee on nominations, consisting of Profs. Carl F. Brand, Dan E. Clark, H. A. Hubbard, R. J. Kerner, and Waldemar Westergaard, reported the following

nominations, which were adopted: President, Joseph B. Lockey, University of California at Los Angeles; vice president, James Westfall Thompson, University of California; secretary-treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College. For the council, the above officers and Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; Carl C. Eckhardt, University of Colorado; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; and Vernon J. Puryear, Humboldt State College. For the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*, 1937-39 term, Frederic L. Paxson, University of California; and John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles.

The committee on resolutions, consisting of Profs. Herbert I. Priestley, Francis J. Bowman, and Vernon J. Puryear, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That at the meeting we express our sense of loss in the death of Prof. Oliver Huntington Richardson. Born in New England and trained at Yale and Heidelberg, Professor Richardson brought to the University of Washington in 1909 an understanding of the responsibilities of scholarship, an appreciation of classical learning and English literature, and a knowledge of English and German methods of historical research which brought him the respect of a generation of students in the Northwest. In 1917 his many speeches on World War issues extended his influence beyond academic circles, and were an important factor in securing popular support for the war measures of the National Government. In 1936 he served as president of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association. His principal published work was *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III and its Culmination in the Baron's War*. Professor Richardson will long be remembered as the embodiment of the best traditions of historical scholarship.

Resolved, That at this meeting we express our regret at the resignation of Prof. John C. Parish as managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*. First as editor of the *Proceedings* of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association from 1926 to 1930 and as the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* from its foundation in 1932, Professor Parish furthered the interests of every student of history in the West, and helped to plot a new and growing field for historical research, the whole Pacific area. This Association sincerely hopes that Professor Parish will soon recover the strength which he has always so generously placed at the disposal of the Association.

Resolved, That this Association express its appreciation to the officials of Mills College for their hospitality, to the program committee for the interesting sessions, and to the committee on arrangements for their efficient management of the 1936 meeting.

On the motion of Prof. Carl F. Brand it was decided that the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*, under the chairmanship of one member to be appointed by the president, should be empowered to select a new managing editor, should assume responsibility for the management of the *Review* under a temporary editor until their decision was reached, and should report to the Pacific coast branch at the 1937 meeting.

On the motion of Prof. R. J. Kerner, amended by Prof. Waldemar Westergaard, it was decided that prizes be awarded by the Pacific coast branch for excellence in research in the fields of European, American, and Pacific history, and that the council arrange the details of procedure.

On the motion of Prof. Louis K. Koontz, it was decided that the council should consider the possible formation of a Pacific Historical Association and its relation to the American Historical Association, and report to the Pacific coast branch at its 1937 meeting.

The president appointed Prof. Frederic L. Paxson chairman of the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Professor Paxson accepted on condition that Prof. Louis K. Koontz continue as associate editor until the board should make final arrangements for the *Review*. Professor Koontz promised his cooperation. The Pacific coast branch formally thanked Professor Koontz for his services to the *Review*.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Secretary-Treasurer*.

Statement of the secretary-treasurer of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association, 1936

RECEIPTS	
Balance, Jan. 2, 1936	\$12. 73
Subvention, American Historical Association	200. 00
Sale of <i>Proceedings</i>	9. 50
Registration fees, annual meeting	49. 50
Interest	2. 17
	273. 90

EXPENDITURES

Jan. 6 to E. E. Robinson, telegram	1. 27
Jan. 16 to Mrs. E. L. Tuxford, secretarial assistance	7. 50
Feb. 1 to Arthur H. Clark Co., letterheads and envelopes	16. 80
Feb. 13 to Mrs. N. A. Brand, secretarial assistance	2. 85
Oct. 10 to C. B. Worthen— <i>Proceedings</i> repurchased	2. 00
Dec. 1 to postcards and stamps	12. 50
Dec. 3 to Consolidated Printers	25. 13
Dec. 29 to C. L. Goodwin, expenses of committee on arrangements, annual meeting	13. 02
Dec. 29 to <i>Pacific Historical Review</i>	126. 00
	207. 07
Balance, Dec. 31, 1936	66. 83
	273. 90

FRANCIS H. HERRICK.

FLAGLER COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES
REPORT FOR 1936

THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

REPORT FOR 1936

A joint session of the American Historical Association and the Conference of Historical Societies was held in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R. I., at 2:30 Thursday afternoon, December 31, Julian P. Boyd, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman of the conference, presiding.

Lawrence C. Wroth, Brown University, read a paper on the John Carter Brown Library, touching upon its history, its purposes, its special collections, and its use. A paper by Herbert Gambrell, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex., entitled "*The Contribution of the Texas Centennial to History*", in the absence of the author, was read by James Truslow Adams. The paper gave a general survey of the centennial celebration and stated that it had led to the creation of a number of county historical societies and had increased the prestige of the older societies. The paper emphasized the value of the collections of materials (administered by the University of Texas Library) and the publications of the Texas State Historical Association. R. H. Draeger, United States Naval Medical School, presented a report, *The Reproduction of Historical Material*, in which he described the recent development of instruments and of techniques for making copies of documents and printed materials.

No announcement can be made at this time concerning the publication of these papers, but it is hoped that they will be printed in the near future.

The long-contemplated new edition of the *Handbook of American Historical Societies* (1926) was published December 11, 1936, under the title, *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada—A Handbook*. Eight hundred copies were printed. They are being sold by the secretary, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, at \$1.50 each.

Edward P. Alexander, director of the New York State Historical Association, Ticonderoga, N. Y., was elected chairman of the Conference for the ensuing year.

Financial statement fiscal year Sept. 1, 1935, to Aug. 31, 1936

BALANCE AND RECEIPTS

Balance on hand Sept. 1, 1935.....	\$400. 16
Nov. 1, 1935, interest on deposit.....	4. 00
December 1935—March 1936, deposit covering 22 memberships.....	22. 00
May 1, 1936, interest on deposit.....	4. 00
	430. 16

EXPENDITURES

Nov. 12, 1935, Hendren Printing Co.....	\$19. 45
Nov. 27, 1935, postage—mailing notices of dues.....	5. 28
Dec. 1, 1935, Beck Letter Service.....	2. 55
Mar. 2, 1936, Wm. McMaster, Jr., Indianapolis, typing.....	4. 20
Mar. 23, 1936, Kenneth Schaefer, Indianapolis, stenographic work.....	1. 50
Apr. 13, 1936, Richard C. Smith, Indianapolis, stenographic work.....	15. 00
Apr. 20, 1936, Hendren Printing Co. (letterheads).....	8. 50
Apr. 20, 1936, Hendren Printing Co. (stationery).....	26. 00
Apr. 21, 1936, postage.....	42. 00

June 25, 1936, Hendren Printing Co.....	\$3. 00
July 9, 1936, Beck Letter Service.....	3. 25
Aug. 31, 1936, postage.....	5. 17
	135. 90
Balance Sept. 1, 1936.....	294. 26

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Secretary*.

MÉMOIRE SUR LES ÉTATS UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE

By

JOSEPH FAUCHET

EDITED BY CARL LUDWIG LOKKE

INTRODUCTION

The memoir here printed, written by Joseph Fauchet, French minister to the United States, 1794-95, is taken from the original manuscript in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères¹ and collated with the photostat copy in the Library of Congress. Dated 24 Frimaire an IV (Dec. 15, 1795), it was prepared a few weeks after the author's return to France. It supplements and, in a sense, summarizes the dispatches of Fauchet and the commissioners associated with him which were edited by the late Professor Turner.²

An effort has been made to reproduce the document exactly as it was written. One exception to this principle is to be observed—missing accents have been inserted as well as roman numerals to indicate the three parts. Attention is called to the two sets of notes. Those of Fauchet, 26 in number, are lettered (A) through (Z) and (a);³ references and comments there made by the editor are enclosed within brackets []. The notes of the editor appear under arabic numerals. It seemed unnecessary to introduce extensive annotations since this had already been done for the dispatches. For other bibliographical references pertaining to Franco-American relations in this period, the student should consult the Bemis and Griffin *Guide*.⁴

Little is known about Joseph Fauchet's life. Born in 1761, he was one of the young men who supported the Revolution. His reward came when Robespierre appointed him minister to the United States to succeed Genet. He held this post from February 1794 to June 1795. It marked his only experience in the field of diplomacy. By the end of his American mission reaction against the Revolution was well under way and Fauchet followed the current. He welcomed the advent of Bonaparte. Under the Empire he became prefect successively of the Var, the Gironde, and the Arno. Then the Restoration forced Fauchet's retirement to private life. He died in Paris in 1834.

The mission of this young man to America was a complete failure. Given the circumstances, probably not even a Talleyrand could have achieved a triumph and Fauchet was no Talleyrand. At first, however, everything went well enough. In an effort to improve on Genet's conduct, Fauchet adopted a quiet, reserved demeanor keeping his opinions to himself. Only 4 days after his arrival the *Philadelphia General Advertiser* commented with evident surprise that the new minister was "not of a very communicative disposition." On March 6, 1794, Fauchet issued a proclamation forbidding his countrymen to violate the neutrality of the United States; all commissions and authorizations leading to such violations were revoked. He exerted himself, not without success, to win the favor of the President. Washington wrote in mid-April that Fauchet had been "temperate and placid in all his movements hitherto." In fact the new minister gave no cause for complaint.

Then occurred the John Jay mission to England which resulted in the signing of the treaty bearing his name in November 1794. To Fauchet any kind of rapprochement between the United States and its former mother country was detri-

¹ Correspondance politique, États-Unis, vol. 44, folios 457-527.

² *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-97*, edited by Frederick J. Turner [*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1903*, vol. II, pp. 287-719] (Washington, 1904).

³ The letter "j" was not used.

⁴ Samuel Flagg Bemis and Grace Gardner Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (Washington, 1935), pp. 73-88.

mental to the interests of France. He therefore did everything possible, even without knowing its contents, to whip up sentiment against this treaty. He intrigued with the anti-Federalist party. To make matters worse, he neglected to observe the diplomatic amenities expected of him. The French minister was no longer to be seen at the President's receptions. He seldom visited Secretary of State Edmund Randolph whom he now distinctly distrusted. Fauchet seems to have believed in the spring of 1795 that his policy of sulking in his tent would help to turn the Government against the treaty. Indications are that it had the reverse effect. In any case, the opponents of the treaty lost ground, and the Senate ratified it, 20 to 10, on June 24, 1795. By this time Fauchet's successor, Pierre Auguste Adet, had arrived to share his chagrin.

Fauchet's cup of bitterness in America was not yet full. On his way to Newport, where he was to take ship for France, he narrowly escaped capture at the hands of the British. Not to be foiled, their vessel, the *Africa*, then kept strict watch in the harbor of Newport in order to prevent the ex-envoy from embarking on the frigate *Medusa*. Not until 6 weeks later did a storm provide Fauchet with an opportunity to give the enemy the slip and start the return voyage, convinced once more that the American Government was indifferent to British violations of its neutrality. He landed at Brest on October 1, 1795.

The memoir is divided roughly into three parts. The first, embracing fully half of the document, deals with events before Fauchet's mission; the second treats his mission; and the third offers recommendations for future policy. The length of the first part indicates how strongly the author felt that his Government needed instruction about the United States, instruction which he himself could well have profited by before starting on his mission. Here is painted a glowing picture of this country's potentialities. Already vast in extent the United States, inhabited by a sturdy race and wisely governed, is destined to expand over the whole of North America. It is throwing on the world market a variety of products—grain, timber, fish, tobacco, indigo—and receiving in return manufactured goods. But what country is profiting most from this lucrative American trade? None other than Great Britain, France's ancient rival. In comparison with the British the French share of American trade is negligible. The responsibility for this unhappy state of affairs Fauchet places unequivocally at the door of the several French Governments since 1783. Through neglect of the American scene and failure to keep in close touch with their envoys to the United States, these governments had made it possible for the British to regain their position of dominance over their former colonies.

The second part of the memoir is taken up largely, as one would expect, with the details of Fauchet's efforts to prevent the acceptance of the Jay Treaty. It dwells at length on his difficult position, lacking instructions and support from France while awaiting the arrival of his successor. Nothing is said about his treatment of the President.

Among the recommendations suggested in the third part is a policy of keeping in close communication with the ministers to the United States. Fauchet points out that England has pursued such a policy with advantage. And frequent changes in personnel should be avoided, for the succession of new men in the past has caused the Americans to become reserved and circumspect. To this ex-envoy it seems not only permissible but advisable for the minister to the United States to lend aid and encouragement to the friends of France who are opposing the present administration. Thus the purpose of the Jay Treaty may yet be defeated. In conclusion, Fauchet urges his Government to take steps to obtain a continental establishment in North America as a support for the French West Indies.

So much for the contents of this document. It remains to say that Fauchet's counsels again fell on deaf ears. His bid for attention from the Directory in Decem-

ber 1795 had no more effect than his dispatches from Philadelphia to the committee of public safety. Franco-American relations grew worse. Monroe was recalled from Paris, and the Directory refused to receive his successor, Pinckney. In 1797 Fauchet tried to explain the situation to his countrymen by publishing a pamphlet entitled *Coup d'oeil sur l'état actuel de nos rapports politiques avec les États Unis*. A few months later, the XYZ Affair brought the two republics to the brink of war. Eventually, however, the air cleared. The Convention of 1800 was signed; Jefferson was elected to the Presidency; and Talleyrand sent as minister to the United States Louis André Pichon, a man with qualifications of which even the critical Fauchet might have approved.

Fauchet's memoir came to my attention some years ago when I was collecting material for a doctoral dissertation on the French colonial question. It helped me greatly to get the "feel" of the period, and I resolved to publish it, if possible. Later on, through the good offices of Prof. Evarts B. Greene of Columbia University and Prof. Leo F. Stock, then chairman of the committee on publications of the American Historical Association, it was accepted for publication in the *Annual Report* of the Association. To these scholars I wish to express my thanks for their cordial cooperation. I am also under obligations to my colleagues, Dr. Almon R. Wright and Dr. William D. McCain, who contributed a number of helpful suggestions during the preparation of the manuscript for the press.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES,
May 31, 1937.

I

L'indifférence avec laquelle nous avons traité les affaires des États Unis d'Amérique dans ces derniers tems, n'offre pas un des moindres phénomènes de nos relations extérieures. Cette indifférence opposée à la foule des matériaux que les légations successives se sont étudiées à rassembler et à envoyer au Gouvernement paroît bien plus étonnante encore et l'on ne sait s'il faut l'attribuer aux difficultés que porte avec elle cette partie de nos rapports politiques ou au peu d'intérêt qu'on y attache. Admettre cette dernière alternative, c'est supposer qu'on manque des notions qui nécessitent une opinion toute différente sur l'importance des États Unis dans la balance de nos affaires, en Général, c'est supposer par conséquent qu'on a négligé jusqu'ici de lire les écrits nombreux de nos divers Ministres en Amérique.

Cette supposition seroit trop décourageante pour l'auteur de ce Mémoire, et il préfère rejeter sur la difficulté de saisir distinctement l'ensemble de nos rapports avec l'Amérique Unie, l'oubli véritablement désastreux où ils demeurent. Cette manière de voir lui laisse du moins l'aiguillon de l'amour propre qui se sent intéressé à remplir un but que des écrivains plus habiles semblent avoir manqué.

D'ailleurs le Citoyen qui expose ici ses idées a été revêtu du Caractère de Ministre de la République près les États Unis et doit Compte au Gouvernement et de sa gestion et de ses observations; les circonstances dans lesquelles il a exercé ses fonctions ont été assez importantes pour qu'il puisse en attendre quelque attention. C'est à tracer dans toute leur vérité historique, ces circonstances et les événements qui les ont précédées ou suivies; c'est à rendre compte du degré d'influence que nous avons exercé sur les affaires d'Amérique sous le Ministère de ses prédécesseurs et sous le sien; c'est à examiner notre système de conduite en général et particulièrement par rapport à l'état actuel des choses dans les États Unis, à le rapprocher dans ses traits les plus remarquables de celui de l'Angleterre, c'est enfin à proposer des vues pour une marche à Suivre à l'avenir que l'auteur se propose de consacrer ce Mémoire, après avoir auparavant esquissé avec rapidité les rapports généraux des États Unis d'Amérique avec l'Europe.

Les liaisons entre les Peuples reposent sur les mêmes bases que celles entre les individus. L'intérêt déguisé sous diverses nuances règle les unes et les autres. On se choisit des amis à cause de l'appui réel qu'on en attend, et de l'avantage ou de l'honneur qu'on se promet de leur commerce.

Une Nation ne recherche également l'alliance d'une autre que dans l'espoir de profiter de sa puissance, ou de ses richesses, ou de participer à l'Éclat de sa renommée. Eloignés comme ils le sont du Siègne actuel de la puissance, les États Unis ne peuvent guères être recherchés pour leur influence directe. Sous ce rapport, leur amitié peut donc paroître indifférente, mais celui qui se borne au présent ne fonde qu'une politique précaire. L'avenir verra L'Amérique unie s'affranchir d'une minorité méprisée et forte d'une population immense, et de l'énergie d'une virilité irrésistible, attaquer l'Europe, non pas au delà des mers, mais dans la partie la plus sensible de son pouvoir, dans ses moyens de crédit, dans les sources de son commerce, dans ses Colonies enfin (A). Parmi toutes les observations que l'affranchissement des colonies Anglaises de l'Amérique Septentrionale a fait naître, celle qui auroit dû Spécialement s'offrir à l'esprit des Gouvernemens, eût été l'examen des causes qui, entre tant d'établissements formés par les Européens dans le nouveau monde, ont porté les États Unis Seuls au désir de l'indépendance¹ et aux moyens de la conquérir sur une Métropole formidable, et au moment même où sa puissance venoit d'atteindre au plus haut faite dans le nouvel hémisphère. Par quel système l'Angleterre avoit-elle donné à ses colonies Continentales des principes de vigueur qui développés par le tems ont rendu ces colonies capables de la Combattre et de la rivaliser, tandis que les Etablissements des autres puissances végètent dans une éternelle enfance? Ces mêmes causes qui ont créé la République des États Unis, et qui tendent secrètement à lui assimiler les autres Colonies Continentales de l'Angleterre ne destineroient-elles pas ces robustes enfans à une domination universelle dans le nouveau monde, dans ce monde où l'Europe semble avoir porté son cœur depuis que la Politique moderne a fait des finances l'arbitre de nos différens?² L'Examen de cette question méneroit peut-être au développement du meilleur système colonial, s'il est vrai qu'il faille se défendre par des moyens semblables à ceux qu'on employe pour nous attaquer, et que la plus sûre garantie des nations soit d'opposer puissance à puissance. Au surplus notre intention n'est pas de suivre dans tous les résultats l'idée que nous venons d'exposer; il nous suffit pour le présent qu'elle serve à appuyer notre opinion sur la grandeur future à laquelle les États Unis sont appelés et en faveur de laquelle tout semble conspirer. L'unité de langage d'abord tend infailliblement

(A) Pour rapprocher toutes ces craintes aux faits qui en prouvent la Réalité, il suffit de rappeler qu'en 1765 [1766], Franklin interrogé à la barre du Parlement disoit qu'il y avoit en Amérique environ 300.000 hommes de 16 à 60 ans et que la Pensylvanie avoit à peu près 160.000 habitans. [Franklin, *Writings*, edited by A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), IV, 412-448]. D'après le recensement fait en 1791 [1790], il y avoit dans les États Unis 776.000 et plus au dessus de 16 ans et la Pensylvanie avoit 434.000 habitans. Ainsi l'on voit que la population des États Unis a doublé dans 25 ans, malgré 8 années de Guerre. [Franklin said in 1766 that the population of the colonies doubled every 25 years, *ibid*, p. 419].

N° On aura occasion de citer de tems à autre dans ce mémoire quelques résultats commerciaux qui servent à confirmer des raisonnemens sur nos rapports et sur ceux de nos ennemis avec l'Amérique. Ces résultats sont tirés d'un mémoire sur le Commerce des États Unis et de la France dans lequel ils entrent mutuellement. Ce Mémoire sera présenté par la Suite si le Gouvernement le désire, quoique les matériaux n'en soient pas encore complets.

¹ The prosperous French colony of St. Domingue also wished to shake off the authority of the mother country, when trade concessions were not forthcoming. For a study of its revolution, viewed as a struggle for independence, see Erwin Rüsich, *Die Revolution von Saint Domingue* (Hamburg, 1930).

² Certain writers in France before the Revolution had perceived the threat from the United States to their old colonial system in the West Indies. Malouet, for example, asserted: "Tout concourt à nous rendre la Nouvelle angleterre [les États-Unis] plus redoutable que l'ancienne, si elle arrive à l'indépendance. Alors elle sera bientôt surchargée de denrées, et elle en cherchera le débouché dans nos colonies, en s'en appropriant d'abord le commerce, et ensuite le territoire: telle est sa marche nécessaire." V. P. Malouet, *Collection de mémoires* (Paris, an 10-1802), III, 367-371. Cf. the editor's *France and the Colonial Question: a Study of Contemporary French Opinion, 1763-1801* (New York, 1932).

À établir dans l'Amérique Septentrionale une unité de pouvoir. La langue Anglaise règne, pour ainsi dire, depuis le Détroit de Davis jusqu'à l'Isthme de Panama; les jargons indiens disparaissent peu à peu devant elle, avec les races qui les parlent; elle ne tardera pas à passer le Mississipi et à absorber les foibles établissemens que d'autres puissances ont formés sur le continent septentrional de l'Amérique.

Les destinées futures des États Unis sont d'autant moins une chimère, qu'elles ont été mises en discussion dans leurs conseils par l'homme à qui la nature donna pour l'avenir l'œil le plus perçant. Franklin quand l'indépendance de son pays fut assurée et qu'il fallut adopter un système général de politique extérieure et intérieure, vouloit que l'Amérique s'isolât de l'Europe et marchât sur les traces des Chinois.⁸ Il proposa de recevoir les Européens comme facteurs, mais de rompre avec eux toute Communication comme Peuple. Il voyoit dans le Commerce après lequel ses avides Concitoyens soupiroient le conducteur qui transmettroit nos vices dans un pays qui pouvoit si longtems encore les ignorer. Son projet fut traité comme celui d'un visionnaire, et l'Amérique unie parut sur les mers avec des prétentions à rivaliser tous les Peuples pour le Commerce.

Si des productions abondantes, variées, nécessaires à la vie de l'homme ou à son industrie sont les bases du Commerce; si des Ports bien situés et nombreux, des forêts immenses, riches en bois de construction, des hommes enhardis aux dangers de la mer et familiarisés avec elle sont les moyens de ce même commerce, qui peut disputer à l'Amérique un rang respectable et bientôt redoutable parmi les Nations commerçantes? La Sobriété de ses habitans, la bonté et surtout l'étendue de son territoire la font concourir avec la Pologne et la Barbarie pour l'exportation des grains (B) l'abondance et la variété des forêts la fait rivaliser avec la Suède et la Norvège pour les matériaux de construction. Des Pêcheries abondantes lui fournissent une exportation que la hollande, l'Angleterre, et la France même voyent d'un œil jaloux. Elle produit des tabacs que l'Europe se dispute, de l'indigo qui se plaçoit encore facilement malgré la supériorité du nôtre. Elle n'est dépendante d'aucune Nation pour ces articles, elle les échange contre

⁸ Franklin shared the aversion of the French physiocrats to commerce. Lewis J. Carey, *Franklin's economic views* (New York, 1928), chap. VII. In 1784 he wrote to Benjamin Vaughan: "What is the Bulk of Commerce for which we fight and destroy each other, but the Toil of Millions for Superfluities, to the great Hazard and Loss of many Lives by the Constant Dangers of the Sea? How much labor is spent in Building and fitting great Ships, to go to China and Arabia for Tea and Coffee, to the West Indies for Sugar, to America for Tobacco? These things cannot be called the Necessaries of Life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them." Franklin, *Writings*, edited by A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), IX, 247.

(B) Si on pouvoit hésiter un instant à croire aux progrès des États Unis dans l'exploitation des denrées diverses propres à fournir une exportation avantageuse pour l'Europe, il suffiroit de jeter les yeux sur le tableau qui suit et qui compare les exportations des E. U. en grains seulement à des Epoque différentes.

Nature des Productions	Dénomination des Mesures	Epoque de	
		1770	1790
fleur de farine, biscuit et farine.....	Tonneaux.....	46. 000	70. 000
de Maïs.....	Boisseaux.....	578. 000	2. 102. 000
Maïs.....	id.....	25. 000	99. 000
Avoine.....	id.....	851. 000	1. 124. 000
Froment.....	id.....		21. 000
Seigle.....	id.....		7. 000
Sarrasin.....	id.....		38. 000
Poïs.....	id.....		

En comparant les tables imprimées par le Lord Sheffield dans ses réflexions sur le Commerce Américain à celles imprimées annuellement dans ces derniers tems par ordre du Congrès on voit sous un point de vue frappant l'accroissement de l'Industrie dans les États Unis. [See John Lord Sheffield, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, a new edition, much enlarged (London, 1784), Appendix, Table No. IX, p. 24, showing the growth of trade between the United States and England from 1700 to 1780. Cf. also Emory R. Johnson et al., *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1915), chaps. XXII¹ and XXIII.].

des Marchandises manufacturées par l'Europe que sa population surcharge; les différentes puissances affluent dans ses marchés pour y trouver l'emploi de leurs bras surnuméraires et pour s'y procurer les denrées dont elles ont un besoin indispensable. Enfin pour la navigation de transport elle le dispute par l'économie de ses navigateurs et le bon marché du fret aux hollandais qui sembloient s'être exclusivement attribué cette branche de Commerce.

Comme Nation commerçante les États Unis doivent donc paroître à l'Europe du plus grand intérêt. L'Angleterre seule a su se conserver chez eux une supériorité pour laquelle elle ne leur offre que peu ou point de retour. Cette supériorité a été mise dans tout son jour dans l'avant dernière session du Congrès des États Unis, on y a prouvé (et nous ne donnerons que ce court résultat) que de 15,293,578 Dollards valeur totale des importations des E. U. en 1790 pour objets manufacturés, l'Angleterre en avoit importé pour 13,965,464 Dollars (C) et la France pour 155.136 Dollards seulement; que cependant dans les exportations des États Unis, la balance étoit avec la France de 2,630,389 dollars en leur faveur, et de 6.922,012 dol^s à leur désavantage avec la Grande Bretagne (D); c'est cette même Supériorité que la France, sans en connoître l'étendue précise, à jusques ici essayé de détruire et pour la destruction de laquelle elle n'a point fait des efforts convenables. On est encore étonné que notre Patrie, avec les avantages moraux qu'elle a en Amérique, avec la bonne volonté générale qui s'y manifeste pour elle, fournisse aux États Unis, par les privilèges volontaires ou forcés qu'elle leur accorde, les moyens d'accroître leur luxe au profit exclusif des Manufactures de sa plus mortelle ennemie.

Sous le point de vue de la Politique dans le sens qu'on accorde ordinairement à ce mot, les États Unis ont paru avec beaucoup d'avantage en Europe dans ces derniers tems de Révolutions et de disputes sur la nature des Gouvernemens. On a érigé les institutions américaines en un modèle qu'on se félicite d'avoir plus ou moins approché, et parce que le bonheur le plus parfait qu'on puisse désirer dans l'ordre social en a jusqu'ici été la suite, on les offre partout comme une autorité décisive en matière de Controverses politiques. Les cabinets aiment à se donner auprès des Peuples le relief d'une bonne intelligence avec une nation qu'on regarde comme la plus sagement gouvernée; une alliance intime avec ce Peuple, n'est peut-être véritablement pas d'un petit intérêt pour le succès de nos plans nouveaux de gouvernement et l'on a droit d'être étonné du traité qui vient de se conclure entre l'Amérique et l'Angleterre qui l'a désiré sans doute pour l'intérêt du moment dans les intentions dont nous venons de parler.

Pour expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante ce double ascendant que la grande Bretagne a su se procurer dans les États Unis et l'inefficacité de nos efforts pour le détruire, il faut revenir sur notre conduite envers eux depuis la paix de 1783 et particulièrement rappeler celle que nous avons tenue dans ces derniers tems où le système extérieur des États Unis a touché à une crise qui sembloit devoir le changer à notre avantage et que l'Angleterre a su même faire tourner à son profit.

En secourant les États Unis dans leur guerre contre la Grande Bretagne, la France se proposa peu de chose au delà de l'affoiblissement qui devoit en résulter pour sa rivale. Après la paix de 1783 la situation de ces États n'étoit pas de nature à faire naître des spéculations sur leur importance à venir. Les suites d'une longue guerre, l'embarras dans lequel elle laissa les finances, la nullité de pouvoir où tomba le Congrès que ne soutenoit plus l'enthousiasme populaire, les défiances et les jalousies qu'excitoient entre des États rivaux des intérêts difficiles à concilier, la langueur de toute industrie causée par le concours de tant de circonstances

(C) Le dollar, valeur ronde est estimé 5^{fr} 10^s tournois.

(D) Discours de M. Madison dans la Chambre des Représentans le 14 Janvier 1794. [In the main these figures are repeated correctly, but the last should read \$5,922,012 instead of \$6,922,012. *Annals of Congress*, IV, 213.]

étoient loin de présenter les États Unis sous un point de vue intéressant aux yeux de la Puissance qui auroit pu désirer de s'indemniser par ses rapports à venir des sacrifices que leur liberté lui avoit coûtés.

En n'observant que les symptômes du jour, qui, l'on en convient, n'offroient point un spectacle encourageant, on n'ouvroit sur les États Unis que les yeux de la Pitié. C'étoit une plante qui s'étoit levée sous nos auspices et dont nous voyions avec peine la langueur sans envisager la force à laquelle son organisation la destinoit dès qu'elle auroit passé sous un Gouvernement convenable. Dans ces sentimens, dans la Crainte surtout que trop de malheurs ne les rejettassent dans les bras de l'Angleterre, nous accordions avec une aveugle générosité à leurs vaisseaux l'entrée de nos ports dans nos Colonies (E). On favorisoit même leurs pêcheries languissantes au détriment de celles de la France; on retira ensuite et on rétablit successivement ces Concessions qui s'étendoient à plusieurs parties importantes de leurs produits (F). Tout cela se faisoit sans qu'on s'occupât des moyens de s'assurer de la part des États Unis de justes retours. Au delà des craintes que leur foiblesse nous inspiroit sur le sort de leur indépendance l'indifférence la plus grande régnait dans nos rapports avec eux, et l'on se bornoit dans le Cabinet de Versailles à faire des vœux pour qu'ils ne se donnassent pas une forme de Gouvernement énergique qui fit succéder à leur état languissant un état de choses trop prospère dont on redoutoit les progrès.

Dans ces premiers tems il se formoit contre l'intérêt de la Cour de France en Amérique un parti qui a soutenu jusqu'à ce jour son système d'opposition contre ce qu'il appelloit et ce qu'il appelle encore l'influence française. A la tête de ce parti se mit Mr. Jay Ministre des affaires étrangères.⁴ Mr. Adams se joignit à lui; ce dernier ne pouvoit pas pardonner à la cour de France les préférences marquées qu'elle avoit accordées sur lui à son Collègue Franklin. La majeure partie des hommes influens dans L'Administration fut successivement entraînée dans cette Coalition qu'on pourroit appeller Anglo-Américaine, et M. Hamilton surtout par la supériorité de ses talens en devint bientôt le chef. Mr. Hamilton dont nous aurons occasion de parler souvent par la suite est peut-être l'adversaire le plus systématique de notre intérêt dans les États Unis. Ces hommes sous le prétexte d'opposer un contrepoids à l'influence de la France étoient conduits, si l'on en croit les renseignemens privés par la connoissance qu'ils avoient acquise du système d'abaissement dans lequel la cour avoit projeté de tenir les États Unis avant même que la paix de 1783 n'eût fixé leur indépendance. L'esprit de ce parti commença à se manifester dans la négociation relative à la Convention consulaire, négociation qui fut Conduite de la part du secrétaire du Congrès avec un ton d'indépendance que l'Amérique n'avoit point encore mis dans ses rapports avec la France. Le Général Washington cependant ne s'étoit pas rangé d'abord du même côté. Au contraire son attachement pour la France s'étoit montré après la paix d'une manière non équivoque. Du fond de sa retraite il écrivoit lui-même à nos Ministres, et nos archives en font foi, des lettres dans lesquelles il pressoit le Gouvernement de jeter les yeux sur les immenses bénéfices commerciaux que l'Amérique pouvoit offrir à la France, si celle-ci

(E) Arrêt du Conseil [30] août 1784. [The text of this important decree may be found in *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 480 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, par MM. Jourdan, Decrusy, Isambert (Paris, 1822), XXVII, 459-464; for a discussion of the decree, see F. L. Nussbaum, "The French colonial arrêt of 1784," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (1928), 62-78].

(F) Arrêt du Conseil X^{bre} 1787, 7^{bre} 1788, et X^{bre} même année cités au rapport fait par M. Jefferson sur les Pêcheries en [February 1] 1791. [Jefferson, *Writings*, memorial edition (Washington, 1907), III, 120-144]. Par suite de l'arrêt d'août 1784, les États Unis ont importé dans nos Colonies en 1786, 1787 et 1788 pour plus de 12.000.000# tournois et n'en ont exporté que pour 7.000.000#. Il y avoit donc en leur faveur une balance de 5.000.000# qui devoit tirer du numéraire de ces colonies. ces avantages ont été en augmentant jusqu'à ce jour. [Cf. Mary Treudley, "The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789-1866," *Journal of Race Development*, VII (1916-1917), p. 97].

⁴ Cf. Bernard Fay, *Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États Unis à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), pp. 113 et seq.

vouloit avoir quelques égards pour les habitudes et les préjugés Nationaux.⁵ De concert avec lui, Lafayette, qui après la Paix se mêla beaucoup de spéculations Commerciales dans les États Unis, paroissoit former des plans patriotiques pour resserrer les nœuds du Commerce entre les deux pays à l'avantage de la France. Il existe des lettres et des Mémoires Signés de lui qui prouvent du moins qu'il portoit souvent l'attention des Ministres sur cette partie de nos intérêts.⁶ Il travailloit à la vérité aux siens avec chaleur, mais en même tems les Américains reconnoissent qu'il n'a pas peu influencé les mesures très favorables pour eux dont nous avons parlé plus haut, avant cette époque et au moment où l'Amérique attendoit avec sollicitude le résultat de ses négociations secrètes auprès de la Cour de France. M^r. Robert Morris Ministre des finances du Congrès durant une partie de la Guerre de l'indépendance, insistoit auprès du résident Américain à Paris pour qu'il présentât au Cabinet de Versailles le tableau des avantages commerciaux que pouvoit se promettre cette puissance pour l'avenir en secourant les États Unis assez à tems pour assurer le succès de leurs entreprises (G) Le Ministère français soit apathie, soit ignorance négligea des avis aussi importants. On ne songea même pas après la Guerre à soutenir notre commerce avec l'Amérique sur le pied où la rupture de celle-ci avec l'Angleterre l'avoit porté. (H).

M. Demoustier fut celui des Ministres de France qui examina le plus sérieusement nos rapports commerciaux avec les États-Unis, en même tems qu'il traita nos rapports politiques avec eux avec une profondeur et une sagacité qui n'appartiennent qu'à lui. Les cartons de l'Exercice de cet Envoyé prouvent des travaux étonnans et un système d'observations aussi étendu que possible.⁷ Rien ne lui

⁵ See Washington's letter to Count de Moustier, Mount Vernon, August 17, 1788. Washington, *Writings*, edited by W. C. Ford (New York and London, 1889-1892), XI, 306-312.

⁶ Albert Mathiez, "Lafayette et le commerce franco-américain à la veille de la Révolution d'après des documents inédits," *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, III (1926), 474-484; Louis R. Gottschalk, "Lafayette as commercial expert," *American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1931), 564-570; Frederick L. Nussbaum, "Lafayette's attack upon the tobacco farm in the American committee of 1786," *Journal of Modern History*, III (1931), 605-613.

(G) Après avoir donné le détail des malheurs qui ont accablé les États Unis en 1776, Robert Morris poursuit ainsi: "Il seroit donc de l'intérêt de la France de frapper un coup actuellement. Elle est sûre de faire une récolte abondante d'indemnités; Elle pourroit nous vendre ses objets manufacturés à son prix et elle recevrait en payement mille objets utiles à son industrie et à sa Nourriture, tels que froment, Ris, farines, Tabacs, Merrein, Indigo, Pelleteries, fers, cires, huiles et fanons de Baleines etc. Elle auroit ici un vaste champ pour employer ses Vaisseaux et former des Marins." Lettre à Silas Deane 20. X^{bre} 1776. [For this same passage see Morris's letter of December 21, 1776, to the Commissioners, Franklin, Deane and Lee. Francis Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), II, 237-238. His dispatch to Deane, together with the postscript of January 8, 1777, quoted below, is in the Lee papers at Harvard Library. *Ibid.*, p. 231, n.]

Dans une autre du 8 Janvier 1777, il dit: "Si la France ne se hâte de nous seconder, si elle laisse l'Angleterre commencer une nouvelle campagne avec de nouveaux moyens nos hommes et nos finances se trouveront épuisés et la France aura perdu une belle occasion de s'assurer les avantages d'un commerce qui a enrichi la grande Bretagne à un point dont toute l'Europe a été étonnée."

Comme les sentimens et le langage de l'homme qui écrivoit ainsi sont changés! C'est actuellement un des ennemis les plus décidés de l'influence française en Amérique. Son inimitié date de la rescission par le Conseil Royal d'un contrat qu'il avoit avec la Régie des tabacs en France. [For the opposition in France to the Morris contract, see F. L. Nussbaum, "The revolutionary Vergennes and Lafayette versus the farmers general," *Journal of Modern History*, III (1931), 592-604]. Ce fut à lui qu'échappa en 1791 la Sortie suivante contre nous dans le Sénat.

On disoit une loi dont le but étoit de nous accorder l'exemption du droit de Tonnage conformément au traité. Robert Morris finit un discours contre cette loi par ces paroles: "La France a beaucoup d'influence dans la chambre des Représentans et j'espère qu'elle n'en prendra jamais une pareille sur celle-ci."

(H) On peut voir d'un coup d'œil l'Echelle décroissante qu'a Suivi notre Commerce avec l'Amérique dans les résultats qui Suivent:

Nos exportations totales en effets manufacturés pour les États Unis pendant 6 années de 1778 à 1784 étoient 12.748.000[#] Tournois.

La totalité de ces mêmes exportations pour les années 1786, 1787 et 1788 a été de 620.000[#]

Ces résultats rapprochés de ceux qu'on donne sur la valeur respective des importations de la France et de l'Angleterre dans les États Unis pour 1790, prouvent bien évidemment avec quelle rapidité l'Amérique abandonnée à elle-même après la paix est retournée à ses anciennes habitudes.

⁷ Henry E. Bourne, "Correspondence of the Comte de Moustier with the Comte de Montmorin, 1787-1789," *American Historical Review*, VIII (1902-1903), 709-733; IX (1903-1904), 86-96.

échappoit; il épuisa tout l'art des Mémoires pour pénétrer le gouvernement de l'importance du pays où il résidoit. Il traça avec une méthode extrêmement lumineuse le plan d'une conduite permanente à suivre dans nos affaires d'Amérique, et il fut le premier à suggérer l'idée de lui donner pour base un établissement continental qui nous fit rivaliser et contenir la puissance Américaine en même tems qu'il diminueroit la dépendance de nos colonies insulaires envers elles par rapport à leur approvisionnement.⁸ Ce fut à lui; si l'auteur ne se trompe, que le Général Washington écrivit la lettre dont il est parlé plus haut.⁹ M. Dumoustier Sentant toute l'importance des vues qu'elle offroit travailla à recueillir des matériaux et des renseignemens propres à en préparer l'exécution et partit avec eux pour la France en 1789 dans l'intention de les soumettre au Cabinet de Versailles et de presser celui-ci de prendre une détermination.

De Moustier arriva au milieu du désordre que jettoit dans les Conseils Royaux la révolution que 1788 avoit vu naître, on ne travailloit alors qu'au jour le jour et seulement pour ce qui tenoit aux moyens de Garantie que l'on cherchoit pour le trône dans toutes les Cours Européennes. Les États Unis, des plans de commerce permanent, n'avoient rien de commun avec les idées du moment; Le Ministre rendu en France oublia lui-même l'objet de son voyage pour se mêler aux intrigues de la Cour. Ses mémoires furent jetés de côté, et lui fut envoyé en Prusse. Les Matériaux qu'il avoit apportés se sont trouvés, dit-on, disséminés et perdus à travers les changemens successifs qu'a éprouvés le département des affaires Étrangères, et les affaires de l'Amérique sont demeurées dans un *Statu quo*, qui s'est longtems prolongé. On attacha dans les circonstances d'alors si peu d'importance aux États Unis qu'on négligea même de remplacer M. Demoustier et qu'on n'eut pendant quelque tems à Philadelphie qu'un chargé d'affaires.¹⁰ Cet intervalle dans la succession de nos Ministres n'offre rien de remarquable que la formation du nouveau Gouvernement des États Unis.

Tout alors demeura en suspens. Le nouveau Gouvernement néanmoins en donnant plus d'importance aux hommes qui nous étoient le plus opposés, nous forçoit à quitter notre longue inactivité et à veiller sur nos intérêts. On se décida enfin à envoyer pour Ministre le Citoyen Ternant.¹¹ Les partis avoient eu le tems de se prononcer sur la nouvelle forme de gouvernement des États Unis et les nouvelles institutions y avoient soutenu une assez longue épreuve pour faire croire à leur succès. Quoique ces circonstances parussent devoir donner plus de stabilité à notre système sur l'Amérique et demander plus d'énergie à son égard, le C^{te} Ternant n'obtint pas d'instructions plus étendues et ne fut pas autorisé à plus d'activité que ses prédécesseurs. Le besoin premier du conseil qui dirigeoit exclusivement nos relations extérieures, étoit toujours les affaires du dedans et le sort de la Monarchie. En nommant un Ministre, on ne faisoit que remplir un vuide, sans vouloir se donner la peine de prendre un parti décisif et d'arrêter les nouveaux plans que pouvoient conseiller les renseignemens qu'on possédoit en abondance. Sous ce Ministre la légation d'Amérique fut à peu près

⁸ Moustier urged the recovery of Louisiana in a voluminous memoir, part of which is published in E. Wilson Lyon, "Moustier's memoir on Louisiana," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (September 1935), pp. 251-266. For a more detailed analysis of this memoir see E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (Norman, 1934), pp. 60-66.

⁹ See page 92, note 5. Moustier refers to a letter from Washington in his dispatch of April 21, 1788. Bourne, *loc. cit.*, VIII, 726-727.

¹⁰ This chargé d'affaires was Louis Guillaume Otto, a very able man. Otto returned to France in 1792 after a residence here of twelve years. Like Fauchet, he advised his government to take the United States seriously, and is thought to have had influence to this end during Talleyrand's ministry under the Directory. James A. James, "French opinion as a factor in preventing war between France and the United States, 1795-1800," *American Historical Review*, XXX (1934), 44-47.

¹¹ Ternant arrived in Philadelphia on August 10, 1791, and was relieved by Genet on May 16, 1793. His instructions and dispatches are given in Frederick J. Turner, *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States*, pp. 43-200.

confinée à des opérations sur les grains, à des envois d'approvisionnement pour la France et ses Colonies, et l'on peut du moins acquérir de nouvelles preuves de l'importance des États Unis par rapport à leurs productions et à leur Commerce. Au reste, on continua à traiter nos rapports politiques avec eux, avec la même indifférence que par le passé. Non que le Ministre partageât cette indifférence; il pressait au contraire le Gouvernement par tous les renseignements qui venoient à sa connoissance et qu'il lui communiquoit. Dans ce tems là ce que la France négligeoit de faire pour ses intérêts, nos amis parmi les Américains le tentoient et si leurs efforts eussent reçu de notre part la coopération qu'ils devoient attendre, nos affaires se trouveroient sans doute aujourd'hui dans un meilleur état.

M^r. Jefferson étoit à la tête de nos nombreux amis. Il avoit puisé dans sa résidence en France durant nos premiers tems Révolutionnaires un attachement sincère pour la Nation Française fondé sur la connoissance de nos ressources et sur le but de nos mouvemens politiques qui devoient selon ses calculs se terminer par l'Établissement d'un Gouvernement Libre.¹² Il avoit vu avec peine le monopole complet du Commerce des États Unis auquel marchoit à grands pas l'Angleterre; il voyoit avec plus de peine encore l'influence politique que ce changement entraîneroit après lui, influence que le parti anti-français favorisait de tout son pouvoir. Il apportoit avec lui de France des plans concertés avec les hommes dominans de l'assemblée constituante pour réagir contre les progrès de notre ennemie et il en médita avec le C^o Ternant la prochaine exécution. Il insistoit sur un nouveau traité de Commerce qui devoit, selon lui, précéder toute mesure de réalisation de ce système.¹³ Il proposa les bases sur les quelles ce traité lui paroissoit devoir poser pour être plus fructueux. Il promettoit d'ailleurs de porter lui même les premiers coups à l'influence anglaise dans un rapport qu'il étoit chargé de faire sur le Commerce des États Unis. *Vous pouvez compter, disoit-il, que je le ferai d'une manière conforme aux intérêts de la France que j'ai toujours à coeur.*¹⁴ Mais il voyoit en même tems que tous les plans possibles viendroient expirer dans l'enceinte du Sénat où par le Secret constant des délibérations, le courant de l'opinion publique n'avoit aucune influence. Il étoit en conséquence convenu, ajoutoit-il, qu'avant tout on commenceroit par le forcer d'ouvrir ses portes.

Tous ces plans furent communiqués au Gouvernement français par Ternant. Celui-ci en peut à peine apprendre la réception. huit mois de Suspension de toute correspondance entre le Département des affaires Étrangères et lui ne lui permirent pas de faire un seul pas pour entamer la négociation que ces bases rendoient nécessaires, et tout demeura ainsi dans un oubli profond.

Avant de passer dans ce résumé historique de nos affaires à la légation du C^o Genet qui a été plus orageuse et plus décisive que toutes les précédentes, retournons un moment sur nos pas et reprenons, autant qu'il sera en notre pouvoir la

¹² Professor Chinard has pointed out that Jefferson's attachment to France did not cause him to lose sight of American interests. Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, an Apostle of Americanism* (Boston, 1929).

¹³ Jefferson was particularly anxious to improve conditions of trade between the United States and the French West Indies. His letter to Gouverneur Morris, June 16, 1792 illustrates his mind on this matter: "Our commerce with their [the French] West Indies had never admitted amelioration during my stay in France. The temper of that period did not allow even the essay, and it was as much as we could do to hold the ground given us by the Marshall de Castries' Arrêt [August 30, 1784], admitting us to their colonies with salted provisions, etc. As to both these branches of commerce, to wit, with France and her colonies, we have hoped they would pursue their own proposition of arranging them by treaty and that we could draw that treaty to this place [Philadelphia]. There is no other where the dependence of their colonies on our States for their prosperity is so obvious as here, nor where their negotiator would feel it so much." Jefferson, *Writings*, memorial edition (Washington, 1907), VIII, 378-379. On the subject of a proposed Franco-American commercial treaty at this time see Mary Treudley, "The United States and Santo Domingo, 1789-1806," *Journal of Race Development*, VII (1916-1917), 101-102; Vernon G. Setser, *The Commercial Reciprocity Policy of the United States, 1774-1829* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 124-126. The movement in France in favor of restricted trade is described by Frederick L. Nussbaum, *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: a Study of the Career of G. J. A. Ducher* (Washington, 1923).

¹⁴ Cf. Turner, *Correspondence of the French Ministers*, p. 135.

conduite que tenoit l'Angleterre pendant le tems que nous venons de parcourir; nous examinerons spécialement cette Conduite dans ce qu'elle a pu avoir de correspondant, de coordonné à la nôtre à des Epoques et dans des Situations semblables; un cadre plus étendu nous jetteroit au delà des bornes de notre sujet.

Quand la répulsion produite par la chaleur des querelles, l'humiliation de son orgueil et le cri de ses intérêts eut commencé à diminuer en Angleterre et eut fait place à des calculs froids sur le parti qu'elle pouvoit encore tirer de ses anciennes Colonies, elle lut dans les projets ultérieurs de la France et prépara des moyens pour les déjouer. Elle vit dans l'avenir la puissance des États Unis et se traça aussitôt des plans pour en arrêter les progrès. Dans cette double vue elle mit tout en œuvres pour réveiller la force des anciennes habitudes et le besoin des anciennes liaisons, elle eut peu de peine à leur rendre toute leur énergie, elles y tendoient naturellement et il lui suffit d'abandonner les soins de détail à ses nombreux Négocians, à ses facteurs et de leur laisser la faculté de reprendre leurs anciens rapports. On a vu plus haut avec quelle rapidité les effets de cette politique se sont manifestés et à quel point ils ont été portés, puisque trois ans après la guerre nos liaisons commerciales avec les États Unis se trouvent presque anéanties et celles des Anglois redevenues ce qu'elles avoient été précédemment. Pour Exécuter la seconde partie de son projet, elle s'arme de toute la rigueur de son système prohibitif, retient les clefs du territoire occidental dans les postes qu'elle devoit livrer après l'échange des ratifications du traité, s'agit dans toutes les Cours où elle jouit de quelqu'influence pour réprimer tous les moyens d'agrandissement et de prospérité que les circonstances peuvent offrir aux États Unis et couve en outre des projets d'hostilités directes dont l'effet doit être l'abaissement de la France et par conséquent l'isolement de l'Amérique de tous secours Étrangers.

En vain les amis de l'Angleterre en Amérique, les Ennemis de l'Influence française essayèrent-ils de procurer aux États Unis, par l'intermédiaire de quelques membres du Parlement Britannique des avantages même nominaux pour pallier aux yeux du peuple Américain les torts de l'Angleterre et pour dépopulariser du même coup le parti français. On avoit envoyé de bonne heure à cet effet des agens Secrets à Londres pour y former des arrangemens entre les partis dont les intentions correspondoient (I). Rien ne put faire dévier le gouvernement Anglais des Plans qu'il avoit adoptés. Peu de tems après la Paix, on présenta dans la chambre des Communes un projet de loi dont le but étoit d'établir sur la base de la réciprocité les relations commerciales entre les États Unis et la grande Bretagne. On proposoit comme moyen de cette réciprocité et de bonne intelligence qui en résultoit d'admettre en Angleterre les Bâtimens Américains sur le même pied que la Nation la plus favorisée, et de n'imposer sur les productions américaines importées sur des Bâtimens Américains que le même droit prélevé sur ces importations faites par la voye des bâtimens Nationaux. On proposoit aussi d'admettre sur un pied à peu près semblable, avec quelques restrictions néanmoins, les vaisseaux américains dans les ports des colonies Anglaises et ce projet fut violemment attaqué par M. Eden, celui qui négocia le traité de 1787 [1786] entre la France et l'Angleterre, et le même qui en 1792 prêcha avec tant de furie la croisade contre nous.¹⁵ Le projet fut rejeté, on laissa au Roi d'Angle-

(I) M. Gouverneur Morris qui depuis a été Ministre de États Unis à Paris étoit chargé de cette Mission qui étoit particulièrement soutenue par Robert Morris.

Gouver Morris remplissoit parfaitement sa mission à Londres. Il pressoit l'Angleterre de conclure un traité de commerce et il écrivoit en Amérique que le Cabinet de St. James ne consentiroit à un pacte commercial que lorsque les États Unis se seroient plus rapprochés de lui par un pacte politique. On voit comme cette double intrigue s'est terminée. [Cf. Morris's letter to Washington, London, September 18, 1790, *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 126-127].

¹⁵ See the Memorial of April 5, 1793, which William Eden, then Lord Auckland, addressed to the States General of Holland in an effort to arouse the Dutch against the French. *Parliamentary History of England*, XXX, 704-706. In March, 1783, Eden had spoken in favor of opening some West Indian ports to American trade. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 643.

terre la faculté d'admettre sous telles restrictions qu'il jugeroit convenables les américains dans les ports Anglais, et c'étoit encore sur ce pied précaire qu'existoient les relations de l'Amérique avec cette puissance avant le traité qui fixe ces relations d'une manière invariable (K).

Cette conduite arrogante de l'Angleterre ne contribua peut-être pas peu à déterminer les avances faites au Gouvernement françois et dont il a été question plus haut.¹⁶ Elles jettèrent un moment la terreur parmi les marchands qui sans calculer la valeur intrinsèque des moyens de leur pays, ne voyoient que d'anciennes routines dont ils se rappelloient la lucrative et facile poursuite. Chez les hommes d'État, elle créa une indignation nouvelle et devint un aiguillon, qui les porta à étudier les véritables bases du Commerce de l'amérique avec l'angleterre, les ressources qu'offroit la première, et l'importance, la nécessité même dont étoit à l'angleterre cette puissance qu'elle traitoit avec tant de hauteur et de mépris. La connoissance approfondie des ressources commerciales des États Unis inspira la recherche du mode le meilleur pour les mettre en activité et amena insensiblement au désir d'un gouvernement énergique dont on sentit bien que le défaut, étoit bien plus que l'humeur de l'Angleterre la cause immédiate de la langueur de l'Industrie et du commerce. On obtint un gouvernement et l'on se prépara à user de Représailles envers l'Angleterre; Mais ceux qui nourrissoient toujours dans le fond de leur Cœur l'espoir d'opérer avec cette Puissance un rapprochement politique et commercial qui balançât l'influence française, s'y opposèrent avec succès jusques en 1791. L'angleterre continua donc jusqu'alors à voir l'échelle de ses rapports avec l'Amérique s'agrandir, sans qu'il lui en coûtât aucun retour. Elle avoit la satisfaction de gagner avec les États Unis tout ce qu'elle vouloit et de leur refuser tout. Ainsi elle suivoit son système d'oppression envers ses anciens sujets et se conservoit en même tems le monopole du commerce de fourrures au moyen de la détention des postes occidentaux.

Nous avons amené le système de l'Angleterre à l'époque à peu près où nous avons quitté le fil historique de nos transactions en Amérique. Les tems qui suivent sont d'une bien plus haute importance que ceux que nous avons parcourus. Les caractères nouveaux de notre Révolution, la rupture de l'Angleterre avec nous, les effets que ces circonstances produisent sur la politique américaine, notre conduite et les mesures analogues de l'Angleterre au milieu de ces incidens, appellent actuellement notre attention. Cette partie de notre histoire étant la plus rapprochée du tems présent et étant mêlée à des intérêts divers, devient par cela même difficile à traiter. Comme il s'agit ici d'intérêts publics que rien ne doit ni ne peut balancer, on croit devoir dire ce qu'on estimera être la vérité sur les opérations. On parlera des individus avec impartialité et avec les égards que chacun désireroit qu'on gardât envers lui lorsqu'il s'agit de ses fonctions. Avant tout nous essayerons d'esquisser les effets de la Révolution qui a substitué en France la République à la Royauté; cet événement a influé plus qu'on ne l'avoue ordinairement sur les mesures ultérieures de l'administration actuelle des États Unis.

La révolution qui détrôna le dernier des Capets fut loin d'être généralement bien accueillie en Amérique.¹⁷ Une Catastrophe qui produisit peut être une défaveur encore plus marquée Contre nous fut celle qui renversa le Crédit de la Fayette et le força à la fuite.¹⁸ Les Services rendus à l'Amérique sous le Roi étoient trop récents, et les rapports des hommes dominans avec sa Cour avoient été trop flatteurs pour qu'on pût se défendre d'un sentiment d'attachement pour

(K) Débats du parlement pour l'année 1784.

¹⁶ See page 91.

¹⁷ C. D. Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 254.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 262 et seq.

lui; sentiment qui au surplus étoit regardé comme patriotique. Les ménagemens auxquels força cette situation, la crainte d'une révolution en sens contraire, mirent insensiblement des égards de cérémonie et de forme à la place de la cordialité. La chute de La Fayette porta surtout le coup au Cœur du Général Washington et elle fut peut-être plus généralement accueillie d'un sentiment de pitié que celle de Capet. Washington regardoit la Fayette comme son pupille, et les américains l'associoient assez à sa gloire et à ses droits sur leur reconnaissance. Aujourd'hui même on fait toutes les protestations d'attachement à la République française, sans renoncer à celui qu'on a voué à la Fayette. Indépendamment de ces sentimens particuliers, nos révolutions en favorisant plus ou moins les vues ou les systèmes des partis créaient des opinions. Nos antagonistes de tous les tems se rangèrent contre nos dernières réformes, le *nec plus ultra* de faveur qu'ils eussent voulu accorder à nos essais de Gouvernement étoit l'établissement d'une Monarchie *raisonnable*; et au surplus, ils ne cessoient de désirer que *le Roi eût toujours assez de pouvoir pour faire le bien dans son Royaume.* (L)

Affirmer que ces souhaits tinssent à des vues de Royauté en Amérique, c'est avancer peut-être plus qu'on n'a de preuves évidentes à produire; c'est néanmoins ce qui a été prétendu par les adversaires de ce parti auquel dans des Pamphlets où l'exagération tient souvent la place de la vérité, on a attribué des plans éloignés de Royalisme pour les États Unis. Ce qui est plus vraisemblable, c'est qu'ils ont craint l'influence que nous acquérions sur l'esprit du peuple en général à mesure que nos idées de gouvernement devenoient plus Républicaines. Ceux qui s'étoient plus constamment et plus ouvertement prononcés pour nos intérêts, quels que fussent leurs véritables sentimens sur nos diverses révolutions ont au moins ostensiblement paru en approuver le but. Peut-être agissoient-ils ainsi dans des vues précisément contraires à celles de leurs adversaires politiques; ils crurent voir dans l'établissement d'un gouvernement Républicain en France une garantie pour un Gouvernement semblable en Amérique substitué à la simple garantie d'indépendance que nos Rois avoient promise, et voyant d'ailleurs le courant de la popularité seconder sans relâche notre cause, ils voient leur intérêt à s'en appuyer aux yeux de leurs Concitoyens. Bientôt après les opinions furent mises à une plus difficile épreuve par la mort du Roi. Si l'on a gardé le silence sur l'effet que produisit cette nouvelle, il faut le faire connoître puisqu'il tient à l'objet de ce Mémoire. Il est bien vrai, et des témoins oculaires l'ont rappelé à l'auteur, que les mêmes américains qui illuminoient leurs villes en apprenant l'évacuation du territoire français par les armées combinées et nos progrès dans la Belgique, montrèrent tous les symptômes de la stupeur à la nouvelle de la mort de Capet. Cependant cet événement produisit du moins à l'extérieur sur les deux partis et sur le Peuple en masse les mêmes effets que ceux décrits ci dessus. Le Peuple oublia après un moment de tristesse l'accident particulier pour ne voir que le grand but. Nos partisans influens en firent de même, ou furent retenus dans leur même ligne de conduite par l'intérêt de leur amour propre et celui de leur parti, comme on l'a précédemment expliqué. Mais cette circonstance donna une teinte nouvelle à la conduite de l'ad^m. Elle marqua ses rapports envers nous d'un caractère plus frappant de froideur et de réserve. Pour établir cette assertion, il suffit de renvoyer à la correspondance de M. Morris avec le Conseil Exécutif dans des tems qui ont suivi ou précédé de près cet événement.¹⁹ La conduite de ce Ministre étoit sûrement basée sur des instructions. Quoiqu'il en soit nous nous sommes assez étendus sur ces incidens pour faire voir que les circonstances devenoient chaque jour plus délicates et commandoient à la France et à ses agens de la circonspection et de la prudence dans leur conduite.

(L) Toast donné par M. Jay à la fin de 1791 à la table du chargé d'affaires de France, cité avec enthousiasme dans la correspondance du C^{te} Otto.

¹⁹ Gouverneur Morris's attitude toward the Revolution is well expressed in his letter to Jefferson, January 25, 1793, commenting on the execution of Louis XVI. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 348-349.

Durant les premiers moments de ces impressions, le C^{on} Ternant résidoit encore à Philadelphie avec le caractère de Ministre français. Dénué de tout rapport avec le Gouvernement nouveau et sans instructions, il ne pouvoit guères se porter à des démarches actives et peut-être comme Ministre du Roi, sa place les lui interdisoit-elle. Cependant ce fut sous lui que le Gouvernement Américain reconnut la République française (M) les Simptômes de Guerre entre la France et la grande Bretagne devenoient de jour en jour moins douteux. Les circonstances étoient aussi périlleuses que difficiles; l'Amérique ou son administration se voyoit à la veille d'être pressée entre des engagements publics avec la France dont l'enthousiasme populaire sembloit vouloir l'exécution et l'indignation et la vengeance des pouvoirs ligués contre la République naissante. On apprend au milieu des incertitudes que le Conseil exécutif avoit nommé ministre auprès des États Unis le Citoyen Genet, et qu'il devoit bientôt arriver. Le Conseil du Président s'occupe alors sans relâche des mesures à prendre pour n'être point pris au dépourvu par le nouvel ambassadeur, au milieu des débats fut résolue la proclamation de neutralité qui devoit surprendre Genet à son débarquement et briser d'avance toutes ses mesures.²⁰

S'il en faut croire des aveux faits depuis par des personnes influentes, le Conseil étoit divisé en deux partis; l'un ayant M^r. Hamilton Ministre des finances à sa tête, l'autre conduit par M^r. Jefferson Secrétaire d'État et chef du parti qu'on a désigné jusques ici sous le nom de parti français. Le Premier voyoit, ou représentoit du moins la France, comme livrée à une coalition formidable dont ses Loix ambitieuses devoient accroître la masse, fortifier l'adhésion et justifier les actes hostiles. (N) Il peignoit d'ailleurs sous des couleurs dont les événemens n'ont que trop prouvé la vérité prophétique, l'esprit de division que laissoit dans le sein de la Convention Nationale la condamnation ou le jugement de Capet. Il rendoit justice à notre puissance si nous demeurions unis, mais il prédisoit pour nous une défaite facile si nous nous livrions à l'esprit de faction qui paroissoit jeter de fortes racines. Il réveillait le vieil attachement de toute l'Amérique pour le Roi lors qu'il venoit à son secours dans les momens les plus critiques de sa révolution; il représentoit une part active dans notre guerre comme scellant le nom américain d'un sceau inefaçable d'ingratitude et comme rompant une neutralité de laquelle seule, après des actes moraux qui ne l'avoient déjà que trop enfreinte, on pouvoit espérer l'indulgence des puissances coalisées, si leur cause triomphoit. Quant à la question des engagements de l'Amérique avec nous, il la tranchoit en disant que les engagements pris avec un Roi ne pouvoient être obligatoires envers des Sujets Révoltés. (O)

M^r. Jefferson soutenoit la thèse opposée avec infiniment de vigueur et de raisonnement. Après avoir combattu le subterfuge par lequel on éludoit des Engagemens Nationaux et l'on sapoit des garanties réciproques qui faisoient la Sûreté de l'indépendance américaine, il prouvoit que la politique traçoit un milieu entre trop de hazards et une lâche désertion. Il combattoit l'idée que l'Amérique put entièrement s'isoler des dangers qui menaçoient la Liberté française. Le Peuple avoit manifesté un enthousiasme trop peu équivoque en faveur de la dernière

(M) En février 1793. [Ternant notified the United States on February 17 that the French nation had constituted itself into a Republic. Six days later Jefferson, in the name of the President, acknowledged this communication, and on April 18, 1793, Washington's Cabinet unanimously agreed that a minister from the Republic of France should be received. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I, 121].

²⁰ See C. M. Thomas, *American Neutrality in 1793: a Study in Cabinet Government* (New York, 1931).

(N) décrets des 9^{bre} et X^{bre} 1792.

(O) Voyez une série de pamphlets publiés en avril et mai 1793, sous la signature de *Pacificus*. Ces pamphlets ont été traduits et envoyés aux officiers étrangers, et selon la coutume jetés dans un coin. Ils contiennent l'exposition des arguments présentés au Conseil par M^r. Hamilton et donnent la clef de presque tout ce qui arrive aujourd'hui. [The *Pacificus* papers, seven in number, were published in the *Gazette of the United States*, the first on June 29 and the last on July 20, 1793. See Hamilton, *Works*, edited by H. C. Lodge, federal edition (New York and London, 1904), IV, 432-489].

pour que l'on pût espérer de ne point partager la haine des Rois et de n'être point inscrits sur leur liste de proscriptions, s'ils venoient à l'emporter. Au surplus, en mettant à part les circonstances du moment, la France étoit attaquée par l'Angleterre; celle-ci préparoit des armemens contre les colonies françaises, en pareil cas les traités qui unissent la France à l'Amérique traçoient à celle-ci ses devoirs. L'Angleterre dans cette guerre travailloit plus sur des motifs d'ambition et de haine que pour le but ostensible de la coalition. Elle avoit voulu de tous tems humilier la France dans la maison de Bourbon, aujourd'hui elle vouloit réduire la puissance maritime de sa rivale, même après la chute des Bourbons, et surtout elle vouloit tirer de l'indépendance américaine une vengeance qu'elle n'avoit qu'ajournée.

M^r. Jefferson désiroit que prenant à des vues qui ne pouvoient être étrangères à l'Amérique, une part que ses intérêts et son honneur prescrivent, on choisit un honorable milieu entre les dangers d'une conduite de pur enthousiasme et la honte d'une conduite par trop pusillanime. Il proposoit enfin qu'on envoyât à Londres un ambassadeur qui exposât les engagements de l'Amérique envers la France, et la ferme volonté de celle-ci de les remplir, qui offrit une médiation désintéressée et juste et annonçât en Cas de rupture qu'à la première attaque des Colonies françaises par l'Angleterre, l'Amérique exécuteroit les traités.

Telles furent les opinions émises dans le conseil du Président par les deux hommes les plus influens et les plus éclairés des États Unis; celle que nous donnons à M^r. Hamilton ne sauroit être révoquée en doute, il l'a publiée dans des Pamphlets connus de toute l'Amérique pour être sortis de sa plume. Quant à celle que nous attribuons à M. Jefferson, elle n'a point eu la même publicité. Des hommes dont l'autorité ne peut être suspecte nous ont assuré qu'il l'avoit émise; Ce qu'il a publié sur cette importante question établit au surplus suffisamment la différence de son opinion avec celle de son adversaire. (P) Quoiqu'il en soit, M. Hamilton emporta le suffrage du Président et celui-ci déclara solennellement le 15 [22], avril 1793, la neutralité de États Unis.

Pendant que cet acte fameux se discutoit dans le Conseil, l'esprit public en partageoit les incertitudes et en répétoit les débats. Les gazettes étoient remplies de nombreux et fréquents essais, où les plumes les plus influentes épuisoient toutes les ressources à pallier ou à exagérer nos crises, à noircir ou à enluminer

(P) Des ménagemens auxquels M. Jefferson fut forcé par les circonstances l'ont vraisemblablement obligé de ne publier qu'une partie de ses opinions émises au Conseil. M. Hamilton avoit pris les devans et avoit déjà fait beaucoup de prosélites à la faveur des nouvelles de nos défaites dans la Belgique et de nos troubles intérieurs qui arrivèrent au moment où il écrivoit comme pour réaliser ses prédictions. Nous extrairons des écrits de M. Jefferson sur ce Sujet les Phrases qui suivent, elles ne rendent point invraisemblable l'opinion qu'on lui attribue, Elles sont adressées au Président des États-Unis. "Tout ce qui ressemble au manège artificieux des Cours et aux doubles ententes des Cabinets des Rois ne peut convenir aux Magistrats d'une nation libre, votre proclamation laisse dans le plus profond silence nos traités avec la France, et l'on en conclut qu'ils sont considérés comme anéantis. S'il en est ainsi, la proclamation contredit et nos intérêts et nos devoirs. Si nos devoirs en effet ne nous enjoignent pas de voir avec indifférence un Peuple libre se débattant contre une horde de despotes qui en veulent à Sa liberté, s'ils ne nous condamnent point de regarder du même œil et notre mortelle ennemie et notre alliée la plus fidèle, une proclamation qui nous prescrit tout ceci comme des devoirs n'est-elle pas un mouvement destiné à éterniser notre infamie comme Nation?"

Quant à ce que l'intérêt prescrit, il suffit d'énoncer que jamais un Peuple ne trouve ses intérêts à violer des engagements solennels et de rappeler que Carthage est devenue infâme jusqu'au proverbe en se jouant des traités; il suffit enfin de dire qu'il ne sauroit être de notre intérêt d'exciter le mécontentement de la France et que ce mécontentement doit être le résultat de la violation de nos pactes avec Elle. Veritas N^o 1.

En voyant paroître cette proclamation dans ce moment, on se demande pourquoi on ne l'a jugée nécessaire qu'à l'instant même où la Grande Bretagne s'est unie à la Coalition. Veritas N^o 3. Gazettes de Juin 1793. [There were four of these *Veritas* articles, published successively, May 30, June 3, 6 and 10, 1793 in the *Philadelphia National Gazette*; all of them (the last is not numbered) may be found in the *Philadelphia American Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1793. Fauchet apparently followed Genet in believing that Jefferson was the author of these papers, Genet having written on October 7, 1793 that Jefferson "a publié dans les papiers sous le nom de *Veritas* trois Lettres contre le système de ces messieurs [Morris and Hamilton]." Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 245. Jefferson himself ascribed them to an Irishman named Irving, a clerk in the Treasury (probably William Irvine, a clerk in the Controller's Office). Cf. Jefferson's "Anas," in *Writings*, memorial edition, I, 358; 375-376].

le tableau de nos affaires et de notre avenir, à dépopulariser enfin notre cause ou à la rendre populaire.

Aussitôt que la décision du Gouvernement fut publique, les polémiques prirent une nouvelle chaleur, on l'attaqua sous mille formes et la défense fut égale à l'attaque. On y voyoit d'un côté une usurpation de pouvoir, un lâche abandon des traités, un acte d'union avec les despotes ennemis de la France, on la justifioit de l'autre comme légalisée par la constitution, comme sanctionnée par tout droit public et surtout conseillée par la politique la plus sage. Ici l'intérêt commercial qui en appercevoit les résultats lucratifs, l'amour de la tranquillité et peut-être la haine de la France se coalisoient pour la soutenir, là l'enthousiasme dans le plus grand nombre, l'amour de la France et des traités chez les hommes influents, peut-être le désir d'un changement chez quelques uns l'attaquoient avec système.

Ce fut au milieu de cette fermentation générale qu'arriva le C^{ea} Genet avec le titre de Ministre de la République française.

Nous voici parvenus à l'époque incontestablement la plus intéressante de nos affaires. Comme il sera question surtout de la politique intérieure, et de la composition des partis, nous faciliterons l'intelligence de ces tems et nous jetterons des lumières sur nos récits en peignant ces mêmes partis dans l'état où ils existoient lors de l'arrivée de nouveau Ministre.

Nous avons vu dès la cessation des hostilités entre la grande Bretagne et la France en 1783 un parti chercher à la prépondérance française un contre poids dans une tendance secrète vers la grande Bretagne. C'est de ce tems que datte aussi la naissance d'un système qui porta les deux partis à s'appuyer en tout de l'une des deux puissances rivales. Ce système tient à la foiblesse de l'Amérique et prend son origine dans ses rapports trop intimes avec l'Europe, rapports qui lui font sentir à tous momens cette foiblesse; c'étoit pour éviter les suites funestes de ces tendances que Franklin vouloit que les États Unis isolassent leur enfance de pouvoirs beaucoup trop souvent empressés à offrir une dangereuse tutèle. La Situation de l'Amérique la met heureusement hors de la portée des bras protecteurs que les deux partis n'auroient pas manqué d'appeller. C'est ce système qui transforme les papiers publics américains en arènes où s'établit une lutte continuelle en faveur de la France ou de l'Angleterre. D'un côté, c'est une manie ridicule de copier l'Angleterre et de vanter ses institutions; de l'autre un zèle excessif depuis notre révolution à louer tous nos actes et à justifier même nos écarts; Le parti anti-français fut d'abord composé de *whigs* originaires qui le créèrent par calcul et de *Tories* et d'anglais récemment naturalisés qui s'y rangeoient par haine. La formation du nouveau Gouvernement en 1787 et 1788 a continué les mêmes différences sous des dénominations nouvelles. Ceux qui en présentèrent le plan et qui en défendirent l'adoption avec le plus de chaleur s'appelèrent fédéralistes comme voulant maintenir la fédération, et leurs adversaires furent nommés antifédéralistes comme voulant la dissoudre en combattant la constitution qui, selon les premiers, pouvoit seule la maintenir. Parmi les fédéralistes les plus ardens on voyoit le noyau du parti anti-français; beaucoup de nos partisans cependant y occupoient une place remarquable, et alors nous comptons à leur tête le Général Washington. Insensiblement les fédéralistes se sont divisés, plusieurs parmi eux ont cru voir la constitution violée, des formes étrangères à ses principes s'introduire dans le Gouvernement, et une manie funeste de singer en tout l'Angleterre mouler toutes les parties de l'Administration. Ces débris du fédéralisme ont formé dans le Congrès et dans l'exécutif une opposition que ses adversaires pour la classer sous un nom impopulaire ont rangé dans la catégorie des anti-fédéralistes, c'est à dire des opposans primitifs de la constitution. Lorsque notre révolution s'est opérée et a marché sur une échelle républicaine les deux sections indistinctement de ce dernier parti, s'en sont déclarés les plus chauds partisans, tandis que leurs antagonistes l'ont constamment dépréciée dans toutes

ses phases. La rupture de la France avec l'Angleterre a ajouté une nouvelle teinte aux partis et les a fortement différenciés.

La double nuance qui divise les fédéralistes a aussi lieu chez leurs adversaires. Les anti-fédéralistes ont parmi eux une foule d'hommes de crédit qui sont fortement prononcés pour la constitution, et sont prêts, tant ils craignent d'en perdre les grandes Garanties, à consentir plutôt à une concentration de pouvoir, à des moyens d'administration qu'on pourroit assimiler à de l'aristocratie, que de céder à d'autres modes qui favoriseroient les vues de ceux qui veulent remplacer la constitution par plus de démocratie peut-être. C'est ce qui rend M^r. Hamilton dont l'administration a le premier caractère, l'homme le plus influent de ce parti. Mais ils ont aussi parmi eux une Section composée d'hommes qui penchent décidément vers la Royauté et désireroient assez y faire converger la constitution. Ils ont parmi eux les Toris rentrés en grâce et les propriétaires de fonds publics qui voyent comme bien tout ce qui assure le payment de leurs créances et le bénéfice de leurs actions. M^r. Hamilton par un art copié de l'Angleterre a su faire poser la solidité du gouvernement sur des fonds publics et sur des banques amalgamées aux opérations financières de l'état, en sorte que tout l'intérêt financier ou mercantile est inséparablement rivé aux mesures du gouvernement quelles qu'elles soient, pourvu qu'elles garantissent son crédit.

La Connoissance de ces nuances diverses est indispensable pour apprécier sûrement la situation des partis et juger avec précision les accusations réciproques des uns comme des autres. Les anti-fédéralistes dans ces derniers tems ont donné à leurs ennemis le nom de Royalistes et d'aristocrates. Cette dénomination ne peut convenir au parti en masse. Les autres accusent les anti-fédéralistes de vouloir la démagogie et la chute de la constitution; cette accusation n'est pas plus fondée envers tout le parti auquel elle s'applique. Car M^{rs}. Jefferson, Madison, (Q) Livingston et tant d'autres noms célèbres ne doivent pas plus vouloir l'anarchie que MM. Jay, John Adams, Washington, Hamilton et autres. Dans l'Anti-fédéralisme où l'on range les premiers, il existe, il est vrai un certain nombre d'hommes qui paroissent désirer une constitution nouvelle et plus démocrate. Mais les hommes que nous venons de désigner se bornent incontestablement à désirer, ainsi qu'une foule de citoyens respectables, que l'esprit du Gouvernement qu'on croit dirigé par l'anglomanie devienne plus conforme au génie républicain. Ils veulent au surplus un changement d'hommes dans l'exécutif. Mais c'étoit particulièrement contre le secrétaire de la Trésorerie et ses plans de finances qu'ils se révoltoient; ils craignoient qu'en marchant toujours sur de pareils errements, l'Amérique se vit bientôt livrée aux mêmes abus, à la même corruption politique que l'Angleterre. Le déplacement de M. Hamilton paroissoit devoir mener nécessairement à une révolution dans l'esprit du Gouvernement; on fit tous ses efforts pour y parvenir, l'une et l'autre Section de l'antifédéralisme n'avoue guères que ses opinions et ne confesse guères que ces vues. Les uns espèrent du succès un système de mesures et des loix plus conformes aux principes constitutionnels; les autres en attendent peut-être des changemens plus fondamentaux, mais il faut prendre garde de confondre ces deux nuances qui sont séparées par un immense intervalle, autant du moins que des observations suivies ont pu nous l'apprendre. (R)

(Q) On sait que l'ouvrage intitulé *fédéralist* qui n'est qu'un recueil de pamphlets publiés en Amérique en faveur de la Constitution actuelle des États Unis, a été écrit conjointement par MM. Jay, Hamilton et Madison.

(R) Confondre ces diverses couleurs de parti, c'est faire la même faute que ceux qui ne voyent en Angleterre que le parti Ministériel et celui de l'opposition. Dans toute division politique, il faut bien que les extrêmes se rallient aux moyens qui leur sont le plus semblables et qui ont le plus le courant de l'opinion pour eux. Cette vérité est confirmée par toutes les phases de notre Révolution; il y a en Angleterre dans le parti de l'opposition le parti des réformateurs et celui des révolutionnaires, dont on vient de déporter les chefs; les réformateurs ne sont pas Révolutionnaires; les Ministériels sont divisés de même.

C'est pour n'avoir pas connu à fond ces divisions de partis entre eux et les teintes diverses des élémens qui les composent que le C^{ea} Genet s'est mis dès son arrivée, dans une position où il ne pouvoit recevoir aucun appui substantiel et durable. C'est pour avoir cru que tous les anti-fédéralistes ne vouloient que renverser l'ordre des choses existant et avoient les mêmes vues, qu'il a éloigné les hommes systématiques parmi eux et préparé sa ruine en ne s'entourant que de la section extrême de leur parti. L'erreur au surplus partoît du Cabinet d'où le Ministre nouveau avoit reçu ses instructions. En ne lisant que superficiellement les hommes influens d'alors (et il y en avoit parmi eux qui prétendoient à une connoissance exacte des affaires d'Amérique) (S) crurent que pour réussir dans nos vues, nous n'avions qu'à nous prononcer pour ceux qui donnoient les plus forts symptômes de Mécontentement, pendant qu'il auroit fallu bien plutôt consulter ceux de nos amis qui attendoient et espéroient dans le silence une occasion favorable pour gagner l'ascendant.

Les instructions du C^{ea} Genet quoique portant sur ces données inexactes prescrivoient cependant de la mesure et de la tempérance. On paroissoit vouloir substituer à l'inaction qui avoit régné jusques là dans nos affaires en Amérique, un système d'activité; à cette volonté se joignit le besoin du moment au milieu des hostilités de l'Angleterre et de l'Espagne.

On avoit calculé sur les États Unis pour réchauffer nos affaires par le crédit d'un traité nouveau, pour défendre nos Colonies contre l'invasion de l'Angleterre, attaquer l'Espagne et jeter d'ailleurs en France des approvisionnemens dont nous avions besoin. Il est très vrai que pour tous ces plans, le C^{ea} Genet trouva dès son abord dans le gouvernement une opposition manifeste qui contrastoit durement avec l'enthousiasme universel qu'avoit inspiré sa présence. Il étoit d'ailleurs arrivé trop tard pour influer sur les décisions du Cabinet qui devoient fermer tout espoir de succès à ses plans; La proclamation étoit émise avant qu'il fût à Philadelphie.²¹

Outre que la grande étendue du plan qu'on avoit tracé au C^{ea} Genet étoit une chance contre son succès, la réussite en étoit entièrement subordonnée à la bonne volonté du gouvernement américain et à la concurrence la plus entière de la part du Congrès. La ferme persuasion où l'on étoit en France qu'on obtiendrait sans difficulté l'une et l'autre, prouve combien on étoit mal instruit de la situation de nos affaires en Amérique. Le C^{ea} Genet avoit partagé cette sécurité avec toute la France jusqu'au moment où il arriva à Philadelphie; elle fut alors cruellement déçue par l'accueil que fit l'Exécutif des États Unis à toutes ses propositions. Demandoit-il des fonds, on tergiversoit pendant quelques tems et on finissoit par lui dire que l'on craignoit que l'Angleterre ne regardât tout remboursement fait à la France dans le commencement d'une guerre comme une violation de la neutralité (T). S'adressoit-il au Gouvernement pour en obtenir secrètement des armes et des munitions de Guerre, pour ces mêmes Colonies que l'Amérique s'étoit engagée à garantir, on lui répondoit qu'on n'osoit pas y envoyer un *Pistolet* de peur que l'Angleterre ne le sût. Proposoit-il d'entamer des négociations pour le renouvellement du traité de Commerce, on lui écrivoit que la constitution ne permettoit pas de rien faire à cet égard avant que le Congrès fût assemblé. Soit que ces réponses fussent réellement dictées par la peur ou par le peu de confiance qu'inspireroit notre République naissante, soit qu'elles fussent déjà l'effet de la prépondérance que notre ennemie avoit acquise dans le Conseil du Président, le C^{ea}

(S) Entre autres Brissot [Brissot] qui avoit écrit sur l'Amérique et sur son commerce avec la France. [See J. P. Brissot, *De la France et les États-Unis* (London, 1787). Professor Hazen writes of Brissot: "Having spent a few weeks in America he talked as if he were a specialist on the new world." Charles Downer Hazen, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1932), I, 481.]

²¹ Genet arrived in Philadelphia May 16, 1793, and the neutrality proclamation had been issued April 22.

(T) Voyez la correspondance du C. Genet, mois de mai, juin et juillet 1790 [1793]. [Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 214-233].

Genet n'en étoit pas moins autorisé à y voir et y vit en effet la parti pris de ne rien faire pour la France. Bouillant de zèle, tourmenté du désir d'être utile à sa Patrie, il crut qu'il seroit coupable si dans des Circonstances urgentes comme celles où il se trouvoit, il attendoit pour agir que le Congrès qui n'étoit convoqué que pour le mois de X^{bre} fût assemblé, et il ne vit d'autre ressource que d'essayer son influence sur le Peuple américain et de déterminer par le poids de l'opinion publique le gouvernement à nous être plus favorable. Dans cette vue, il s'entoura des membres les plus violens de l'opposition, de ceux qu'on désignoit sous le nom de démocrates et il se servit d'eux avec succès pour échauffer les esprits, pour les effrayer sur la tendance de l'exécutif, vers l'usurpation du pouvoir, et sur sa préférence marquée pour la grande Bretagne, enfin pour engager les Citoyens des États Unis à former entre eux des dignes qui pussent arrêter le torrent de l'influence anglaise qui croissoit tous les jours. Un pareil Système devoit de toute nécessité l'entraîner au delà de tout ménagement. Le C^{en} Genet n'en mit pas et s'aliéna ainsi beaucoup d'hommes influens qui craignoient de se compromettre et que la marche qu'il avoit prise faisoit trembler pour leurs intérêts ou pour leur réputation.

M. Jefferson fut de ce nombre. depuis quelques tems son crédit étoit presque nul dans les conseils. Hamilton avoit fait agréer son plan et les autres Ministres étoient devenus à compter de ce moment les instrumens de ses vues et de son triomphe. Le parti de l'opposition avoit pensé assez généralement que M^r. Jefferson donneroit sa démission aussitôt après la décision du Président en faveur du système de son antagoniste. Il annonça en effet l'intention de se retirer; mais il ne l'exécuta que longtems après dans le dessein de poursuivre toujours le projet favori de son rapport sur la situation relative du Commerce des États Unis avec les diverses parties des possessions des puissances Européennes. Tout ce qui se passoit alors créoit malheureusement comme nous le dirons ci après autant de chances défavorables contre le but de ce rapport et quoique son auteur désavouât les principes de la conduite du Gouvernement, il crut devoir pendant le reste de son exercice en soutenir les opérations. En Conséquence, il combatit fortement le C. Genet qui ne tarda pas à rompre avec lui et qui perdit ainsi le seul appui, quoique foible, dont il pût espérer quelque chose dans le conseil du Président.

Le C. Genet dès son arrivée à Charleston avoit donné des lettres de marque à plusieurs armateurs de ce port et les avoit engagés à faire la course espérant que l'Exécutif des États Unis favoriseroit les prétentions de la France sur le droit d'armer dans les ports américains, ou du moins fermeroit les yeux. Celui-ci s'y opposa au contraire très vivement, la discussion qui s'engagea sur ce point fut prolongée, opiniâtre de part et d'autre, et les ennemis de notre Ministre eurent l'art de la rendre personnelle entre lui et le Président. Malgré tout le désavantage d'une pareille lutte, l'esprit public, à en juger par les journaux du tems hésitoit entre Genet et Washington. Le Peuple se déclaroit dans toutes les occasions pour la cause française, les Anti-fédéralistes de leur côté cherchoient à rendre le mouvement général et décisif; ils animoient la querelle autant qu'il étoit en leur pouvoir. Le Gouvernement trembla et se hâta de demander le rappel du Ministre qui étoit l'objet de sa terreur.

Depuis cette époque le reste de la Mission du C. Genet s'écoula de la part du Gouvernement à attendre l'effet de sa demande et à opposer des ordres et des moyens répressifs au mouvemt qui se communiquoit véritablement à l'Amérique; du Côté du C. Genet, à poursuivre, malgré sa défaveur auprès du Gouvernement sa guerre de plume, et des plans d'attaque contre les anglais et les Espagnols, que lui avoit suggérés l'arrivée imprévue des forces composant la Station de St. Domingue dans le continent.

Ces forces soutenues par la coopération que le Ministre s'étoit ménagée de la part des Américains voisins de la Louisiane et de la Floride, et des mouvemens préparés en Canada auroient incontestablement rempli leur objet sans la défection du C^{en}. Bompard Commandant le Jupiter.

L'Angleterre au milieu de tous ces débats suivoit sourdement et de concert avec ses amis les menées qui ont conduit au traité récemment conclu entre elle et les États Unis. Pour empêcher le succès des négociations que Genet étoit chargé d'entamer, et prévenir les avantages que nous espérions de nos libéralités commerciales envers les États Unis elle employa d'un côté la crainte de sa puissance et de l'autre la supériorité maritime. Elle excita les Sauvages à une ligue générale contre l'Amérique, et par deux Édits successifs dirigés spécialement contre le commerce américain, elle remplit le double but d'effrayer le Cabinet de Philadelphie et de nous ôter les ressources que nous espérions du Pavillon Américain.

Par les décrets des 19 février²² et 26 Mars 1793,²³ nous avions voulu pourvoir aux approvisionnemens des colonies françaises par Bâtimens Américains et faire rentrer en France quelques denrées coloniales. Un édit du 8 juin²⁴ ordonna la saisie des Bâtimens neutres portant en France des grains ou des productions du cru de ses colonies. Mais ces mesures, en servant son ambition, indisposèrent en Amérique tout le commerce; et formèrent l'orage qui devoit éclater contre elle dans la Session prochaine. Nos amis préparèrent pour cette époque leurs plans d'attaque; l'accroissement de la Représentation assuroit la majorité aux Républicains. Mr. Jefferson devoit présenter dans cette session son rapport sur les prohibitions exercées envers le commerce Américain par les Puissances Européennes. Nous devions être en mesure de seconder ces efforts. Mais la Situation du C^{en} Genet ne le lui permettoit pas. Sans dépêches du Conseil exécutif depuis six mois et sans fonds, il étoit hors d'état d'agir. Il y a plus; le gouvernement compta beaucoup sur ces malheureuses brouilleries pour diviser à la première session la majorité dont il connoissoit les vœux.

En effet, la Session s'ouvrit par une dénonciation en forme faite contre le Ministre de France au Congrès. [Genet] intervint et voulut que la Législation jugât entre lui et son Rival.²⁵ Mais la majorité en plaignant sa position évita de prendre connoissance de l'affaire qui fut trainée en longueur, elle crut devoir repousser par le silence l'accusation qu'on lui faisoit de favoriser les projets anarchiques du Ministre français, et passant sur toutes les personnalités, attendit que l'arrivée du nouveau Ministre qu'on annonçoit lui eût fait connoître quels étoient les sentimens de la France sur cette affaire. En même tems elle commença avec calme son système d'attaque contre la grande Bretagne.

II

Jusqu'ici j'ai parlé de mes prédécesseurs, il me reste aujourd'hui à parler des événemens qui se sont passés sous une légation dont j'étois le chef ostensible.²⁶ J'userai d'autant de rigueur envers moi que j'ai mis d'impartialité à juger les autres, je laisserai à ceux qui auront étudié mon administration à suppléer aux vérités que je pourrois omettre.

Quand j'arrivai en Amérique, je ne pus y apporter que des opinions reçues et des jugemens formés sur parole à défaut de faits; les hommes et les choses m'étoient inconnus.

²² *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 362.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 363.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 240.

²⁵ Washington.

²⁶ Fauchet held the title of minister plenipotentiary; the other members of the Commission were La Forest, Petry and Le Blanc. La Forest and Petry failed to work satisfactorily with Fauchet who sent Le Blanc to Paris to complain about their conduct. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 410-411; 419. They, however, remained with him to the end of the mission. Le Blanc seems eventually to have lost faith in Fauchet, for he is reported to have said: "I am come home to tell you that the best thing you can do is to call home Fauchet and all the rest of us, and employ Genet again; for he was really worth more than the rest of us put together." John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, edited by C. F. Adams (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), I, 118-119. For discussions of the mission see James A. James, "French diplomacy and American politics, 1794-1795," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911*, vol. I, pp. 153-163; Fay, *Esprit révolutionnaire*, pp. 223 et seq.

Le système qui existoit en France à l'époque où je fus envoyé avoit imprimé à ma mission comme à toutes les parties du Gouvernement un caractère de rigueur irréfléchie envers tous les hommes qui avoient composé l'ancienne légation. Et Consuls et Ministre devoient être arrêtés et envoyés en France comme coupables. Je ne connoissois ni les uns ni les autres; j'arrivai avec des opinions dont l'expérience m'apprit à rabattre, mais enfin avec le Ministère de Pacificateur, et véritablement nous trouvâmes que l'irritation étoit devenue telle qu'elle eût pu produire de fâcheuses extrémités (U). Je m'appliquai à calmer là où l'exaspération avoit le plus ulcéré les cœurs. J'y réussis du moins en apparence, je n'épargnai ni avances ni égards même exclusifs pour regagner le Président à notre cause et avec lui le parti qu'on nous disoit opposé et dont les dernières scènes justifioient les froideurs. On me flatta des apparences d'une réconciliation parfaite aux symptômes de laquelle j'ajoutai d'autant plus de foi que je manquois de données pour la suspecter. Je m'occupai avec mes collègues, dans une sécurité profonde à cet égard, des opérations urgentes d'approvisionnement dont nous avions été chargés.

Cependant les objets les plus importants pour nous étoient en débat dans le Congrès, le Rapport de M. Jefferson sur les prohibitions des Européens envers le commerce des États-Unis plaçoit dans la discussion la France sous le point de vue le plus avantageux et l'Angleterre sous le jour le plus défavorable. On prouva que l'Angleterre faisoit des gains immenses avec l'Amérique sans vouloir rien relâcher de son régime prohibitif, ni accorder une réciprocité, pendant que la France qui ne faisoit que peu ou point de Commerce avec elle lui procuroit annuellement par son système libéral une énorme balance en sa faveur. De là on conclut à la nécessité de restrictions particulièrement dirigées contre l'Angleterre. Les insultes qu'elle commettoit journellement envers l'Amérique en soumettant son Commerce à des Édits qui régloient ses rapports avec l'Europe, jettoient du côté de cette opinion tout le poids de l'indignation publique. Ignorant ce dont il s'agissoit, me reposant sur mes collègues qu'une longue expérience et qu'un long Séjour en Amérique devoient éclairer sur nos vrais intérêts, leur entendant répéter que le projet de M^r. Madison n'avoit pas le sens commun, que son auteur méritoit d'être fouetté; je n'osois prendre aucune part à ces importants débats. Je cherchois à m'instruire dans le silence des passions, de la vérité des assertions de mes collègues et à m'assurer du système qu'il me convenoit de suivre. Mais pendant ce tems la discussion faisoit des progrès. Les passions s'enflammoient et l'on vit le moment qu'une rupture commerciale alloit avoir lieu entre l'Amérique et la Grande Bretagne. La légation gardoit toujours au milieu de ces débats dont je commençois à appercevoir toute l'importance pour la Nation française, une neutralité ostensible. À la fin M. Monroe, aujourd'hui Ministre des États Unis à Paris, alors Sénateur au Congrès pour l'État de Virginie vint me trouver et eut avec moi une conversation confidentielle dans laquelle il me fit voir ce que je soupçonnois déjà, tout l'intérêt de la question présente pour mon pays et la Suite qu'elle pouvoit avoir; il m'éclaira sur la composition des partis et me dit que nos amis voyoient avec peine que je semblasse les fuir. Ces éclaircissemens avec quelques autres qu'il me donna sur divers individus me firent mûrement réfléchir, et je sortis de l'indifférence apparente dans laquelle j'avois passé mes premiers instants.

Ce fut dans ce moment que j'eus recours à l'expédient d'une correspondance privée qui peut-être n'étoit pas dans le sens de mes instructions. Si j'avois à justifier de cette conduite, je me contenterois sans entrer dans des détails qui répugnent à mon Cœur, de dire qu'après la conversation de M^r. Monroe, je vis

(U) En parlant ici de mon administration, je répéterai nécessairement ce que j'ai écrit dans différentes dépêches à la Commission des relations extérieures et au Comité de Salut Public; cette répétition aura l'avantage de réunir et de présenter au Ministre des affaires Étrangères plusieurs lettres qui sans doute n'ont pas été lues et qui cependant méritoient de l'être.

cette mesure devenir indispensable et je parviendrois facilement à le prouver. J'ajouterois que j'eus bientôt après avec le Secrétaire d'État une entrevue qui me fit encore plus particulièrement un devoir du parti que je prenois, parti qui me fut dicté par l'amour de la Patrie et non par aucun sentiment de haine contre des hommes que je n'avois jamais connus. (V)

La grande question commerciale faisoit des progrès que je ne pouvois influencer faute d'instructions ou d'appuis. Quand le gouvernement vit l'excès jusqu'où ces discussions soutenues de l'indignation publique (W) et des vexations de l'Angleterre pouvoient aller, il eut recours à l'expédient d'une ambassade pour faire quitter prise à la Législature. Je fus de bonne heure éclairé sur le but de cette ambassade et par les renseignemens que je m'étois procurés et par M^r. Monroe lui-même qui me rendit une seconde visite et qui m'apprit que les deux candidats qu'on désignoit pour la remplir étoient MM. Hamilton et Jay. Il ne me cacha pas les craintes du parti républicain sur cette mission et me développa ce qu'elle pouvoit avoir de suspect et de dangereux pour la République. Il me pressoit si j'avois des pouvoirs pour traiter, de les déployer dans cette circonstance; c'étoit selon lui le moment de prendre les devants sur la Grande Bretagne, et le plus efficace moyen de neutraliser une mission qui finiroit indubitablement par un traité commercial et politique entre l'Angleterre et les États Unis.²⁷ Les Événemens n'ont que trop vérifié ses craintes et les miennes. Mais que pouvois-je faire? je ne pouvois que donner des paroles qui ne décelassent pas mon impuissance et laissassent quelqu' espoir à nos amis, éclairer en même tems mon Gouvernement sur ce qui se passoit et lui demander des instructions pour l'avenir. Je remplis ce dernier devoir par ma dépêche particulière No. 2 au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à laquelle je joignis tout ce qui pouvoit l'instruire sur la grande question qui venoit de se discuter. (X)

Si les résolutions que proposa M. Madison à la suite du rapport présenté par le Secrétaire d'État avoient été soutenues, point de doute que les affaires avec l'Angleterre n'eussent pris une autre tournure. Il suffira de les relire pour se convaincre de l'impopularité qu'elles auroient jetté sur le Ministère Anglais; mais la nation à laquelle il importoit le plus qu'elles passassent ne faisant aucune démarche pour encourager nos amis, ceux-ci même se voyant pour ainsi dire humiliés par l'éclat avec lequel Genet dont on les accusoit d'être les partisans avoit été destitué et les préférences que la légation nouvelle affichoit pour leurs adversaires, devinrent timides et embarrassés. La Session finit donc sans que la légation y eût paru autrement que pour demander la remise du droit de tonnage pour le convoi; du reste nos amis ne me virent qu'avec réserve et précaution. Il faut excepter M^r. Monroe qui, comme je l'ai dit, se risqua pour sonder les raisons qui pouvoient nous tenir réciproquement à une telle distance. Je m'ouvris librement avec lui sur les erreurs que j'avois apportées avec moi en Amérique et sur les hommes et sur les choses. Je gardai moins de mesure sur la nomination de M^r. Jay à la place d'envoyé extraordinaire auprès du Gouvernement Anglais, et je

(V) J'ai communiqué cette conversation au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères dans le N^o 3 de ma correspondance particulière. [June 4, 1794, Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 372-377].

(W) L'édit du mois de 9^{bre} 1790 qui ordonnoit la saisie de tout bâtiment américain entrant ou sortant des colonies françaises ne fut rendu public que 4 mois après qu'il eut fait son effet, et il ne fut connu en Amérique qu'au moment où cette question s'agitoit au Congrès.

²⁷ For Monroe's suspicions in regard to the purpose of the Jay mission see Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794-1796* (Baltimore, 1907), pp. 13-14.

(X) Qu'on relise cette dépêche et l'on verra qu'il étoit impossible de préciser davantage ce qui est arrivé et d'envoyer de plus complets documens que ceux qui y étoient. Elle finissoit ainsi: "Je te laisse à juger, Citoyen Ministre, jusqu'à quel point les événemens dont je te rends un compte fidèle au moyen desquels nous puissions prendre les devans sur les nouvelles relations commerciales qu'on va peut-être ouvrir à l'Angleterre et que cette puissance châtiée par les événemens pourroit bien être disposée à ne pas dédaigner." [No. 2, May 17, 1794. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 339-344].

Ni moi, ni la Commission, n'avons jamais reçu un mot qui eut le plus léger rapport à ces négociations.

pris sur moi dans plusieurs occasions de témoigner tout le mécontentement que causeroit en France une pareille mission et le choix de l'homme qui en étoit chargé.²⁸

Il m'étoit évident que le Gouvernement fédéral se prononçoit de plus en plus contre nous, et que le Président, malgré la satisfaction complète qu'il avoit reçue sur le rappel de Genet avoit conservé de l'aigreur qui ne le disposoit pas peu à recevoir les impressions défavorables à notre cause, dont je savois qu'il étoit sans cesse assailli. Je voyois aussi clairement qu'une des plus belles occasions qui se fussent présentées pour attaquer avec quelque espoir de succès le crédit de notre rivale avoit été irréparablement perdue. Ce Contretems paroissoit avoir dégoûté nos amis. Mr. Jefferson affligé depuis longtems de la tournure nouvelle et décidée que prenoit le Cabinet contre nous avoit donné sa démission et n'avoit lancé auparavant son rapport au Congrès que pour remplir un devoir qui lui étoit imposé, mais au fond sans en attendre beaucoup de réussite. Sa sortie du Ministère annonçoit des manœuvres auxquelles il répugnoit de prendre part. Il avoit été remplacé par M. Randolph, homme qui chercha sans cesse à me tromper par d'artificieuses confidences et dont j'appris à me méfier de bonne heure par les avis que nos amis me donnoient sur son caractère politique.²⁹ Les avances du Gouvernement français étoient reçues comme des offices importuns avec froideur et enfouis dans le plus profond silence. On ne paroissoit redouter, on ne paroissoit courtiser que l'Angleterre. À ses pirateries depuis la Guerre se joignoient des invasions directes sur le territoire Américain, invasions dont le discours du Lord Dorchester aux tribus indiennes assemblées dévoila le Secret. L'on disoit tout haut que l'Angleterre étoit l'instigatrice des hostilités des algériens. L'on savoit, l'on voyoit clairement que ses Édits sur le commerce des Américains avec la France et ses colonies étoient surtout destinés à nous affamer dans les deux mondes. À tous ces avantages, à tous ces actes on n'opposoit que le silence et la crainte même d'aigrir le gouvernement Anglais par des remontrances Énergiques et par aucune mesure qui annonçât la moindre intelligence avec la France.³⁰ Il fut facile de voir à ces symptômes qui allèrent de jour en jour en se manifestant que l'on avoit des vues profondes, des plans étendus que M. Jay étoit allé réaliser. Il s'agissoit d'anéantir par une liaison si longtems recherchée l'influence du parti Républicain ou du parti français. Les mouvemens derniers qu'il avoit excités, les mesures violentes qu'il avoit proposées contre l'Angleterre pour diminuer la prépondérance commerciale et augmenter les relations de la France, montroient qu'il étoit vraiment à craindre et suffisoient pour déterminer l'Angleterre à se prêter à des négociations. Le parti Anti français étoit d'ailleurs assez fort pour risquer une alliance politique à laquelle jusques là il n'avoit osé songer. Les circonstances favorisoient l'exécution de ce plan si l'on savoit la guerre à un commerce qui avoit déjà savouré les avantages de la neutralité, si on lui faisoit entrevoir des indemnités dans le lointain pour les torts passés, si on lui présentait d'ailleurs quelques avantages spécieux, on décideroit aisément le reste de la Nation par son assentiment, on le feroit aisément passer lui même sur certains points délicats. Une négociation si importante entamée et terminée par la seule influence de l'administration actuelle la couvrirait d'une popularité effrayante pour tous ses ennemis et asseoirait son crédit sur des bases longtems inexpugnables.

Je soumis au Gouvernement ces hypothèses tirées de la Constitution des partis dès le mois de fructidor, au 2^e³¹ avant d'avoir aucuns renseignemens exacts sur la

²⁸ Cf. Fay, *Esprit révolutionnaire*, p. 244. The Jay Mission has been described by Samuel Flag Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: a Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New York, 1923).

²⁹ Randolph, it appears, practised duplicity in regard to the Jay Treaty upon both Fauchet and Monroe. Bond, *The Monroe Mission*, pp. 50-52. After the Secretary of State's resignation, Jefferson wrote that Randolph "has generally given his principles to the one party & his practice to the other." Letter to Giles, December 31, 1795. *Writings*, edited by P. L. Ford, VII, 41-44.

³⁰ In a letter to Monroe, July 29, 1795, Randolph declared: "He [Fauchet] found in me a temper, in no manner turned towards Britain, but warm towards France." Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.

³¹ August-September, 1794.

mission de M. Jay. Je lui fis part du projet qui m'avoit été communiqué par M. Livingston, un des hommes les plus influens dans les États Unis pour neutraliser la partie de ces plans qui tendoit à ruiner notre crédit. Il proposoit que la France déclarât ouvertement et publiquement son intention de lier ses griefs à ceux de l'amérique, afin que cette contenance d'intimité, ou ruinât les plans de Jay auprès du Ministre Britannique ou donnât à la France quelque part dans ses succès.

Et au fond tout le monde étoit persuadé en Amérique que nos victoires servoient plus cette négociation que tous les talens du Ministre. Mais les événements de cette année avoient encore contribué à élever le crédit de nos Ennemis et à faire baisser celui de nos partisans. L'insurrection qui avoit eu lieu dans les parties occidentales de la Pennsylvanie³² contre quelques Loix du Congrès étoit habilement peinte par nos ennemis comme une suite de nos plans révolutionnaires sous la légation qui m'avoit précédé. Les Antifédéralistes en masse en furent accusés; on la regarda comme une conséquence des principes français si solennellement prêchés.³³ Ces accusations perfides et les violences commises dans l'Ouest rendirent encore nos amis plus circonspects et suffirent pour les empêcher de rien projeter pour la Session prochaine. Tout paroissant devoir faire terminer la mission de M. Jay selon les vues de nos ennemis, il devenoit donc important que nous nous missions en mesure de parer le coup que l'on espéroit porter à notre influence par son moyen. J'exposai très en détail ce nouvel état de choses dans une dépêche qui fut entièrement Consacrée à cet objet.³⁴ Enfin je n'épargnai rien pour éveiller la Surveillance de notre Gouvernement sur tout ce que les accidens et les calculs préparoient en faveur de la négociation ou à son désavantage. Je n'ajoutai pas que je n'ai jamais reçu une ligne qui m'annonçât qu'on avoit même lu mes dépêches.

Vers le mois d'8^{bre} 1794, Vendémiaire an 3^e, il commença à circuler quelques bruits sur les opérations de M^r Jay à Londres. On vit son humble adresse au Ministère Anglais dans laquelle il disoit que *l'Amérique n'avoit d'autre ressource que dans la justice et la magnanimité de Sa Majesté Britannique*.³⁵ Ce mémoire et la response tortueuse qu'y fit le Lord Grenville³⁶ ne furent pas très bien reçus en Amérique. Bientôt les nouvelles se succédèrent avec rapidité et changèrent le caractère de la négociation. On annonça un traité de Commerce et enfin vers le Commencement de Janvier 1795, (Nivôse an 3^e) on apprit qu'il y avoit un traité d'amitié, de navigation et de commerce conclu entre l'Amérique et la grande Bretagne.³⁷

Ce fut au milieu de ces bruits incertains que s'assembla la législature fédérale un mois plutôt que de Coutume. Le président occupé, comme toute la nation

³² The Whiskey Insurrection.

³³ Cf. Hazen, *Contemporary American Opinion*, p. 205.

³⁴ This refers to the famous dispatch No. 10, of October 31, 1794, which was intercepted by the English and in July 1795 turned over to the American government. It contained damaging evidence against Randolph and led to his resignation in August from the office of Secretary of State. Whether he actually received a bribe from Fauchet remains a disputed question. It is a very interesting fact that Fauchet does not allude to this matter in his memoir. He certainly was not ignorant about the interception of the dispatch, as Randolph sought him out before he sailed from Newport to demand an exculpatory letter.

The text of the dispatch No. 10 is in Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 444-455. Randolph defended himself in a pamphlet called *A Vindication of Mr. Randolph's resignation* (Philadelphia, 1795). See Dice R. Anderson, "Edmund Randolph", in *American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy*, edited by Samuel Flagg Bemis, II (1927), 149-159; M. D. Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph*, second edition (New York and London, 1889), pp. 270-289; Charles W. Upham, *Life of Timothy Pickering* (Boston, 1867-1873), III, 209-229; Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1905-1925), IV, 144.

³⁵ Jay's words were: " . . . the United States confide in his majesty's justice and magnanimity, to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers as may be consistent with equity. . . . " Jay to Grenville, London, July 30, 1794. *Annual Register for the Year 1794*, second edition (London, 1806), pp. 246-247.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 247-249.

³⁷ The treaty was signed November 19, 1794.

l'étoit alors, de la révolte de la Pennsylvanie ne parla que d'elle dans son discours d'ouverture et ne dit pas un mot des relations extérieures.³⁸ La législature liée par le *Statu quo* où la mission de Jay mettoit forcément les choses, garda sur elles le plus profond silence. Ainsi il étoit impossible de se procurer des données exactes sur ce que le bruit public annonçoit.³⁹

Je me rendis cependant chez le Secrétaire d'État pour lui demander ce qu'on devoit croire de ces bruits. Il me répondit par des défaites tortueuses et des protestations dont j'avois appris à connoître le but.⁴⁰ Je vis M. Madison qui ou ne voulant pas être sincère, ou ignorant véritablement la situation des choses ne me dit rien de satisfaisant. La joye de nos ennemis trahit à mes yeux leur secret et je vis ce que je devois croire. La retraite de M^r Hamilton du Ministère m'annonçoit surtout l'étendue du mal plus que tout autre symptôme, il n'auroit point abandonné son poste dans le Conseil s'il n'y avoit eu mis son Système favori d'alliance britannique à l'abri de toute attaque.⁴¹ Je m'arrêtai à désirer que le traité n'arrivât point assez tôt pour être ratifié dans cette session pour que nous eussions le tems de préparer nos moyens de réaction et d'opposition pour la session prochaine.⁴² Dans l'intervalle je réfléchis plus mûrement que jamais aux vues que je présenterois au Gouvernement dans des circonstances aussi importantes.

Mes méditations me conduisirent à examiner à fond nos rapports avec l'Amérique, à chercher les bases d'un système permanent envers elle, et les causes de la fluctuation de notre influence. J'écrivis d'après ces réflexions la dépêche No. 16, au Commissaire des Relations extérieures.⁴³ Je reviendrai sur cette dépêche dans la conclusion de ce Mémoire. J'exposai dans le No. 17 les chances favorables que nous pouvions espérer de la rénovation de la chambre des représentans, et d'un tiers du Sénate d'après la réélection qui devoit avoir lieu dans le courant de l'année.⁴⁴ Ce changement si l'on en croyoit le caractère des Elections, si l'on Considéroit les Événemens sous les auspices desquels elles avoient lieu, promettoient une majorité aux Républicains. Je pressois donc pour que l'on préparât des moyens calqués sur ces altérations probables dans l'esprit de la Législature

³⁸ Address at the opening of Congress, November 19, 1794. Washington, *Writings*, XII, 491-498. In his dispatch of December 1, 1794, Fauchet commented on Washington's failure to discuss foreign affairs. Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 493.

³⁹ On December 27, 1794, the Commissioners (Fauchet, La Forest, Petry) wrote to Paris: "Un secret impénétrable continue de voiler à Philadelphie la mission de Jay." Turner, *Correspondence*, p. 520.

⁴⁰ It is interesting to compare this statement with Randolph's remarks concerning Fauchet in his letter to Monroe, dated February 15, 1795. He wrote: "Acceptable as Mr. Fauchet has hitherto been, we read with great sensibility, that Mr. Oudard formerly, and Mr. Adet recently, have been appointed to his place. If this should be true, and Mr. Fauchet is, as we suppose, uncontaminated towards the French interest, it is rather an unpleasant circumstance that, upon a change of party, we are to expect a change of minister. However, the only thing which essentially concerns us, is, that the representative of the French republic in the United States should lay aside all intrigue, and imitate ourselves in a course of plain and fair dealing.

We confide that we have lost no opportunity of fixing the friendship of the two countries upon solid ground. On our part, we really do all that we can; and as one instance, I will mention the legislative act, which has within these few weeks enabled Mr. Fauchet to use by anticipation, the instalments of the French debt due in September and November next, amounting to two millions and a half of livres. But I am afraid that Mr. Fauchet, and probably the French nation, have been urged to believe that the treaty said to have been concluded by Mr. Jay with Great Britain interferes with our engagements and attachments to France." *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 696.

⁴¹ Hamilton resigned from the Cabinet on January 31, 1795, and Fauchet had definite word of the signing of the Jay Treaty by February 2. There seems no reason to believe that Hamilton had the news from England at the time of his resignation or that his action would have been influenced by such news.

⁴² This wish was realized, as a copy of the treaty did not reach Philadelphia until March 7, several days after Congress had adjourned.

⁴³ Private dispatch No. 16, February 4, 1795. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 559 et seq. It pleads at the end for the retrocession of Louisiana. Cf. below, page 119, note 62.

⁴⁴ Private dispatch No. 17, February 8, 1795. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 572-574. It does not allude to the approaching elections.

ou du moins qu'on formât d'après ces nouvelles données les instructions de la Légation que le bruit public annonçoit devoir bientôt nous remplacer.⁴⁵

La perte d'un des Paquebots expédiés par Mr. Jay de Londres fit que le traité ne fut point apporté assez à tems pour être ratifié par ce congrès. A peine la Session étoit-elle levée que le Traité arrive. La Sortie d'un tiers du Sénat auroit rendu le Succès de la ratification incertain pour tout autre que pour le Président qui d'un coup d'œil aperçut que l'élection nouvelle avoit laissé dans cette chambre la majorité du même côté qu'auparavant. Au lieu donc d'attendre la Session constitutionnelle qui devoit n'avoir lieu qu'à la fin de l'année et de laisser à l'influence étrangère et aux partis du dedans le tems de préparer plus d'opposition, il convoque extraordinairement le Sénat nouveau pour le 8 du mois de Juin.

Le parti Britannique et le Ministre anglais à sa tête s'attendoient depuis longtemps au résultat de la mission de M. Jay et n'avoient rien épargné pour lui préparer les voyes. Dans cette circonstance comme dans toute autre où il s'agit de faire passer un acte qui nous fût contraire, le préliminaire de toute mesure étoit de nous déprécier dans l'opinion publique. Pendant six mois pour y parvenir on répandit avec profusion des Pamphlets uniquement destinés à ridiculiser notre Révolution, à exagérer nos malheurs, à noircir notre caractère, à encherir sur nos catastrophes, à nous accuser de tramer avec les *Jacobins d'amérique que nous couvions sous notre aile*, des plans anarchiques et désorganisateurs.⁴⁶ Les papiers publics regorgèrent en même tems d'essays et de paragraphes dans un stile semblable. D'un autre côté, en travaillant ainsi les passions du Peuple, on ne négligeoit point celles des mandataires; on s'étoit assuré sourdement de la division des vois, des masses inébranlables de part et d'autre, et des fractions indifférentes ou faciles à fondre avec un principal auquel elles serviroient d'auxiliaires. On connut bientôt ceux que la foiblesse, ou la cupidité rendoient versatiles. La grande Bretagne étoit trop intéressée à tous ces détails pour que ses agents négligeassent d'appliquer à s'en informer leur activité ordinaire.

Nous avions bien de notre côté des données aussi exactes pour le moins que nos ennemis, et je m'étois mis en mesure de m'en procurer. Mais quel usage en pouvois-je faire? Mon Gouvernement ne m'avoit pas écrit un mot sur mes opérations politiques et on annonçoit à tout moment l'arrivée de mon Successeur. faire quelques démarches eût été risquer compromettre sa mission et l'engager sur des points peut-être étrangers à ses pouvoirs. Cependant au milieu de ces incertitudes, le Sénat s'assembloit; il n'y avoit point à douter que le Ministre Anglais ne mit à profit les premiers instans si importans en matière politique, et ne fit décider les voix par des votes qui fixassent irrévocablement les hommes et les empêchassent de reculer. Le 8 Juin, les Séances du Sénat s'ouvrirent. La première motion qui fut faite, d'accord avec moi, par ceux qui vouloient s'opposer à la ratification fut de rendre le traité public. Cette mesure auroit indubitablement dérangé le parti de nos ennemis et eût pu faire désertir à l'autre côté quelques hommes incertains et flottans. La motion fut rejetée. On put dès lors augurer du sort qu'auroit le Traité si l'on n'employoit le même moyen que l'Angleterre, la Corruption. Il étoit facile et sûr; j'étois décidé à le mettre en usage malgré les entraves que me donnoient mes instructions. Lorsque le nouveau Ministre arriva. Il débarqua à Newport le 8 juin, si je ne me trompe, et ne se rendit à Philadelphie que le 13 du même mois.⁴⁷

La Constitution exigeoit les deux tiers des membres du Sénat pour que la ratification eût lieu. Le nombre total étant trente, onze suffisoient pour l'empêcher. Il étoit bien étonnant qu'après avoir vu le Sénat l'année dernière divisé

⁴⁵ The instructions for Fauchet's successor were dated October 23, 1794. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 721 et seq. Rumors that he was to be recalled had reached Fauchet by December 1, 1794. See his letter of that date, *ibid.*, pp. 491-492.

⁴⁶ See Faÿ, *Esprit révolutionnaire*, pp. 246 et seq.

⁴⁷ The latter date is correct, but Adet reached Newport on June 2.

également sur des matières qui tenoient d'aussi près aux partis et à nos intérêts, nous fussions réduits à craindre de ne pas avoir onze membres en notre faveur. Une telle différence ne pouvoit être occasionnée seulement par les élections nouvelles, qui selon toutes les apparences avoient à peu près remplacé les vacances d'élémens semblables à ceux qui composoient l'ancien Sénat. On pouvoit donc sans forcer l'induction croire à des intrigues de l'Angleterre. Nous n'étions point, au surplus, bornés sur ce point aux suppositions, nous avions des preuves.

Je ne répéterai point ce que j'ai détaillé dans mes dépêches sur les menées de M^r. Randolph envers la partie vacillante et incertaine du Sénat. Il alloit montrant aux hommes foibles des États du midi que la navigation libre du Mississippi intéresse, l'alliance de l'Angleterre comme devant jeter un grand poids dans cette négociation, par l'amitié qui régnoit entre Londres et Madrid. Il agissoit sur les autres par la crainte, il représentoit l'Angleterre regardant comme une insulte le refus de ratifier et il faisoit craindre une guerre. D'autres arts étoient employés envers ceux que de tels argumens ne pouvoient séduire. M. Tazewell⁴⁸ qui avoit pris dans le Sénat la place de M^r. Monroe avoit déjà eu avec moi plusieurs entrevues sur le traité dès l'ouverture de la Session et m'avoit parlé en ami sincère de nos intérêts. Le 20 Juin, quatre jours avant la décision du Sénat, il vint me voir et me fit part de ses craintes sur le résultat; on ne pouvoit compter que sur dix membres contre le traité et il en falloit onze pour faire manquer la ratification. Il ne me déguisa pas que la crainte d'une rupture avec l'Angleterre et celle de n'être pas soutenus par la France si cela arrivoit, faisoit balancer dans le Sénat plusieurs hommes timides qui n'osoient exposer leurs commettans à de si grosses chances ni encourir eux mêmes une si forte responsabilité. Il m'indiqua deux membres qu'il étoit possible d'avoir par quelques avances pécuniaires. Tout ce que je pus faire envers des propositions d'une si haute importance fut de conduire M. Tazewell chez mon successeur sur le champ. J'eus lieu de croire qu'il avoit pris une détermination; il m'écrivit dès le soir que les choses étoient arrangées et que nous pouvons compter sur un plein succès.

En effet, dans la Séance du lendemain on aperçut quelques oscillations dont les hommes clairvoyans devinèrent bientôt la source.⁴⁹ M. Randolph se mit en mouvement, le Ministre anglais qui s'étoit retiré à la Campagne pour jouer la neutralité fut appelé en hâte pour ouvrir des négociations dont on ne tarda pas à voir le fruit. Le 23 les votes reprirent leur division première et le 24 le traité fut définitivement ratifié.

J'avois prévenu le C^{on} Adet de ces derniers mouvemens, je l'avois engagé à ne pas quitter un seul instant les *nouveaux convertis*, j'ai su depuis qu'il ne leur avoit fait que des promesses tandis que les Anglois avoient employé *Res non verba*.

Au moment même où le Sénat ouvroit ses séances pour prendre en considération le traité, mon projet étoit de faire différer du moins la détermination du Président jusqu'à l'arrivée de mon successeur. Ce projet étoit assez difficile à exécuter puisque l'on ne pouvoit percer le secret qui couvroit le contenu du Traité à tous les yeux; cependant sur ce que j'en avois oui dire à M. Tazewell et à d'autres Sénateurs, je me hasardai en terminant une longue correspondance qui avoit eu lieu entre M. Randolph et moi sur l'admission des forces Anglaises dans les Ports des États Unis, et l'arrestation de tous bâtimens venant de France ou des Colonies, à toucher cette matière importante.⁵⁰ M^r. Randolph me répliqua par une justification Générale de la conduite du Gouvernement fédéral dans tous les tems, et me fit sentir que je ne devois toucher qu'avec discrétion la corde des relations des États Unis au dehors.⁵¹ Je saisis cette occasion pour écrire avec plus d'abondance

⁴⁸ Henry Tazewell.

⁴⁹ See the Executive Journal of this session. *Annals of Congress*, IV, 854-867.

⁵⁰ See his letters of January 31, May 2 and 23. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 605; 608-609; 609.

⁵¹ This evidently refers to Randolph's reply on May 29 to the sharp note of May 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 609-614.

tous nos motifs de plainte contre les États Unis et parler plus amplement du traité.⁵² Je terminai par conjurer M. Randolph d'obtenir du Président qu'il suspendit sa Ratification jusqu'à l'arrivée du nouveau Ministre.⁵³ J'espérois que cette lettre seroit mise sous les yeux du Sénat; elle ne le fut point mais je livrai toujours encore au Citoyen Adet quelques chances sur la détermination ultérieure du Président.

La nature du traité et ses rapports commerciaux et politiques sont hors du plan de ce mémoire, et ils doivent servir de matériaux à un autre qui pourra être présenté au Ministre. Je suppose le Gouvernement instruit par mon successeur et je passe d'après cette hypothèse à l'exposition des faits qui doivent terminer le tableau du véritable état de choses existant dans les États Unis. Aussitôt que le traité a été arraché au secret dans lequel on vouloit encore le tenir même après la ratification, il a réveillé au delà de toute expression les passions des partis. D'un bout du continent à l'autre, il s'est manifesté une indignation violente au milieu de laquelle la voix de quelques chambres de commerce s'est à peine fait entendre. Partout on voit dans le traité le triomphe du parti anti-français, Britannique ou Aristocrate, selon qu'on voudra choisir parmi toutes les dénominations. On réveille la Lutte qui avoit existé au commencement de 1794 sur les plans coercitifs et énergiques que proposoient MM. Jefferson et Madison, pour forcer l'Angleterre à exécuter le traité de 1783 sur les postes de l'Ouest et à respecter la neutralité des États Unis. On n'épargne même pas le Général Washington dans les accusations de perfidie et de trahison que l'on prodigue envers les auteurs et les partisans de cette transaction. On ne sauroit prendre une idée plus exacte de l'état des passions et des points qui les divisent qu'en lisant les extraits qui suivent.

"Nous félicitons le public du traité que nous lisons avoir été conclu entre la République française et la Prusse parce que nous croyons ce traité intéressant pour la cause de la Liberté. Nous nous attristons du traité de Mr Jay avec Mr. Pitt parce que nous craignons qu'il ne soit défavorable à cette cause. Si ce traité donne du Relief à l'Angleterre, il ne peut en donner à la France; si nos Négociations avec les Nations Etrangères doivent s'isoler du sort de la Liberté et se régler Seulement sur des vues Commerciales nous avons raison. Si notre paix, si notre indépendance tiennent aux succès définitifs de la République française, tout ce qui diminue la probabilité de ce succès est contraire à nos intérêts. Le Traité de Mr. Jay a déjà été utile à l'Angleterre en dépréciant la France et en popularisant le Ministère de Mr. Pitt; on en conclut que les français sont sans amis et que les Anglais en ont beaucoup. Les Rois font cause commune; les Républicains ne la font pas. La cause de Louis a été celle de toute Tête couronnée, la cause de la République française n'est point celle de toutes les Républiques, qui ont les mêmes principes qu'elle. Mais ce qui met les vues secrètes du Gouvernement dans tout leur jour, c'est l'ordre que tout nous annonce avoir été donné récemment par les mêmes Ministres qui ont négocié avec M. Jay pour arrêter tous nos vaisseaux, comme s'ils vouloient convaincre même leurs amis du profond mépris qu'ils ont pour nous et pour notre Gouvernement."

Chronique de Boston 22 Juin 1795 ⁵⁴

"Il est prouvé aujourd'hui que si la motion faite par M. * * * ⁵⁵ de pro-

⁵² In a private letter to Monroe, May 31, 1795, Randolph wrote: "At the beginning of this month, Mr. Fauchet took up the strain of complaining, and has written an indecent letter, in which he collects all the charges which he thinks himself qualified to maintain against the U. S. My answer, which is nearly finished, consists of nearly thirty pages of closely written quarto paper, and will be sent to him tomorrow. I am sure, that he meditates something against the treaty with G. Britain; but what I do not yet see." Monroe Papers, New York Public Library. The answer to Fauchet was finally dated June 13, 1795 and sent to Adet who replaced Fauchet on that day. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, I, 617-620.

⁵³ Letter of June 8, 1795, the day the Senate convened. *Ibid.*, I, 614-617.

⁵⁴ Boston *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, June 22, 1795.

⁵⁵ Mr. Dayton. The name is given in the text of the newspaper.

“hiber toute importation de marchandises Anglaises dans les États Unis avoit réussi, il n’y auroit non seulement point eu de guerre, mais encore que la Paix seroit faite à présent en Europe. L’Angleterre est la seule nation qui soutienne la Guerre; une de ses principales ressources est depuis deux ans le commerce américain. Les Trésors de la France vont par l’intermédiaire des Américains se perdre dans le sein de la Grande Bretagne et S’échanger contre des articles de luxe dont nous pouvons nous passer, tandis que nous aurions dû faire tous nos efforts pour enrichir au moins par notre Commerce la République française et pour lui procurer quelques débouchés utiles. Avec l’énergie d’une pareille mesure, nous aurions obtenu restitution des captures injustes faites sur notre commerce. L’Angleterre eut-elle osé nous faire la Guerre? non. Le peuple fatigué n’eût jamais voulu entendre à des hostilités si impopulaires. La conduite de l’Angleterre avec les petits états neutres de l’Italie et les États neutres du Nord prouve ce fait. Nous allons bientôt voir le résultat de la politique basse et pusillanime qu’on a crue devoir substituer à celle-ci.

“Le système de mesures vigoureuses soutenu par M. Madison et autres étoit sage et avoit l’avantage de l’à-propos. Le système des hamiltoniens si l’on en juge par ce qui s’échappe sur le Traité n’a point réalisé leurs grandes promesses * * * on a accusé MM. Jefferson et Madison, Giles et autres d’avoir voulu la guerre; on n’a encore soutenu cette assertion que par de violentes invectives. Les événements prouvent que ces illustres patriotes avoient sainement jugé des choses. Ils ont assuré que M Pitt n’étoit point dans des dispositions amies envers nous: Que disent les faits là dessus? Ils ont affirmé que la République française avoit envers l’Amérique des intentions bienveillantes. Peut-on le contester? Ils disoient que la France triompheroit; elle triomphe. Ils disoient que l’Angleterre ne seroit pas en état d’entreprendre un ennemi de plus; ils disoient que si la France étoit obligée d’abandonner son gouvernement à l’arbitraire d’une puissance extérieure, on prescrirait bientôt des formes à l’Amérique le sabre à la main. Ils disoient qu’il falloit aborder Pitt avec de l’Energie et lui annoncer notre résolution d’avoir Justice. Ils disoient enfin que des négociations sans l’appui du pouvoir se termineroient par des compromis honteux. Voilà les véritables points qui différencient les opinions des hommes dont il s’agit. Le tems prouvera qui de Madison ou d’Hamilton pensoit plus sainement.” Extrait de L’Aurora, Gazette de Philadelphie 20 Juin 95. ⁶⁶

Ces extraits rapprochés de tout ce que nous avons dit précédemment sur la constitution des partis et leurs vues, sur les luttes qui se sont établies entre eux à des Epoque différentes et sur leurs résultats complètent la peinture des points qui divisent en ce moment l’Amérique. Le Triomphe que le parti antifrçais a cru acquérir par le Traité ne peut être de longue durée si l’on considère de quel côté est l’avantage des débats et des Polémiques. J’ai ouï dire par des hommes sans passions avant que le Traité n’eût été signé par le Président: “Si j’étois l’ennemi personnel de Washington et que je désirasse sa chute, je souhaiterois qu’il ratifiât le Traité.” Mais comment s’opéreroit cette chute? par une déposition naturelle, suite de l’Election d’un autre Citoyen à l’époque de la réélection qui doit avoir lieu vers la fin de l’année 1796.

III

Nous voici arrivés au terme de nos récits; passons actuellement au moyen de tourner les circonstances dont nous avons rendu Compte à notre avantage, et de réparer les fautes qui peuvent avoir été faites et voyons enfin quels sont les moyens de fonder sur un système durable et sage nos relations avec les États Unis.

⁶⁶ Bache's *General Advertiser* (Aurora), June 20, 1795. This translation is not very accurate.

Il résulte des faits contenus dans ce mémoire qu'il existe réellement dans les États Unis deux partis aussi anciens que l'Indépendance Américaine, que ces deux partis, outre leurs divisions sur des points de politique intérieure diffèrent encore sur leurs rapports extérieurs, que l'un de ces partis nous favorise, et surtout depuis notre Révolution; que l'autre nous sacrifie à l'Angleterre qu'il nous préfère; surtout depuis nos réformes Politiques. Il en résulte que nos amis ont fait de fréquents efforts pour nous procurer plus d'avantages dans nos relations avec l'Amérique, et que nous n'avons jamais été en mesure de coopérer avec eux; que l'Angleterre au contraire a toujours agi de concert avec ses partisans qui ont constamment tendu à maintenir sa prépondérance; qu'à une certaine époque nous avons épousé avec trop de chaleur jusqu'aux passions les plus extrêmes de nos partisans et que nous les avons ensuite humiliés dans les formes et les suites du rappel du Ministre imprudent avec qui ils se sont trouvés malgré eux compromis. Il en résulte enfin que nous n'avons guères connu l'importance commerciale et Politique des États Unis et surtout leurs destinées futures et que nous n'avons jamais suivi envers eux qu'une politique de boutades et du moment.

Nos désavantages tiennent donc à trois points; défaut de système, connoissance incomplète des caractères et des partis et négligence dans nos communications.

En Général, ainsi que nous l'avons dit au Commencement de ce mémoire, notre système envers les États Unis comme envers tout autre Peuple doit porter sur nos rapports nécessaires, sur les avantages que nous pouvons en attendre et sur ce que nous pouvons en craindre. Les États Unis consomment beaucoup de Marchandises manufacturées et en fabriquent peu; ils produisent beaucoup de denrées nécessaires à la vie de l'homme ou à ses arts et en consomment peu. Cette disproportion entre la production de denrées premières et d'objets manufacturés ira longtemps en croissant. Une Nation Européenne qui éprouve un déficit de ces premiers objets et qui se trouve en même tems surchargé des seconds doit donc faire avec les États Unis un trafic avantageux et tellement avantageux que selon M. Morris: "La Nation Européenne qui a le double monopole de cette consommation et de cette production doit devenir la plus riche de l'Europe."⁵⁷

Ces réflexions nous tracent en deux mots nos intérêts. Or il arrive que nous prenons beaucoup de ces productions dont l'Amérique abonde et que nous ne lui livrons pas un article de nos manufactures. Ici donc nous payons une balance en argent laquelle va alimenter, payer les manufactures de notre rivale et leur donner de l'activité. La politique nous ordonne donc de travailler à diminuer autant que possible cette défaveur. Deux moyens s'offrent pour cela; ou des prohibitions qui diminuent des livraisons si désavantageuses ou des négociations qui nous procurent de la réciprocité.—Malheureusement la voie des négociations ne pourroit faire changer un état de choses qui dépend des habitudes Nationales et les hommes dominans ne sont guère disposés à s'y prêter. On pourroit désirer de rompre par la force celle de ces habitudes qui tiennent les États Unis à l'Angleterre; les circonstances dont nous avons parlé plus haut nous en ont presque offert l'occasion. Nous l'avons irréparablement perdue. Quant aux prohibitions, elles sont hors de notre pouvoir par suite de nos rapports nécessaires avec l'Amérique.

Nos Colonies manquent de subsistances premières; la France ne les leur fournit qu'en partie en tems de paix. En tems de guerre leur existence est à la merci du continent américain. Prohiber les Importations des États Unis, ce seroit donc nous couper à nous mêmes les vivres. On sent parfaitement en Amérique notre position, et l'on s'en prévaut pour agir légèrement ainsi qu'on l'a fait envers nous dans ces derniers tems. Nous y avons des amis nombreux; il nous reste donc quelques chances encore à employer leurs bons offices et à profiter de leurs passions pour améliorer nos rapports avec cette puissance. Depuis six années nous ajournons toujours à des tems plus opportuns l'examen de nos affaires; pendant ce

⁵⁷ Cf. with the Morris quotation cited above, page 92, note (G).

tems le mal se fait, notre ennemi augmente son ascendant et nous avons vu se conclure un traité qui semble nous fermer à jamais la porte des améliorations. C'est donc contre cet obstacle que nous devons d'abord diriger nos efforts.

Le Traité est impopulaire; il a remué et mis en présence les passions anciennes et nouvelles. Si l'on peut juger de ce qui doit arriver par ce qui existe, les esprits se réuniront pour soutenir l'opposition que la seconde branche de la Législature fera sûrement à cet acte. Le Traité pour qu'il soit mis à exécution nécessitera l'adoption de quelques Loix et alors ce qui a eu lieu dans le parlement d'Angleterre envers le Traité d'Utrecht se fera envers celui de M. Jay. (Y) Les Loix ne seront pas portées, le traité demeurera sans exécution et l'administration elle-même sera obligée pour éviter de plus grands malheurs de l'abandonner et de se populariser par un rapprochement avec nous. Cependant il seroit possible que la crainte arrêtât quelques hommes timorés; comme il est de notre intérêt qu'une nombreuse majorité s'oppose au traité, il est de la plus haute importance pour nous de soutenir nos amis par nos efforts. Quel est le moyen d'établir un concert de mesures avec eux, c'est ce qui exige la plus mûre délibération.

Quoi que nous puissions faire, quoique nous puissions écrire, tout demeure enfoui dans les cabinets, c'est pourtant avec l'esprit public qu'il faut coopérer. On a porté ce moyen à l'extrême, il est vrai sous la Légation qui a précédé le C^{on}seil, mais dans les Circonstances actuelles il faudroit que l'Amérique connût nos griefs et nos sujets de mécontentement. Il y a de la différence entre les communiquer d'une manière qui annonçât l'intention d'enflammer les esprits et de soutenir une faction, et le faire sur le ton de dignité qui convient à nous et à nos amis les plus respectables.

Il est déjà à craindre que la saine et froide partie des Républicains en Congrès, voyant le degré de fermentation qui existe dans les têtes, ne molisse dans son opposition de peur que plus d'énergie ne décidât un mouvement révolutionnaire qui attaqueroit l'ordre public et la constitution. Nous ne devons point, nous ne voulons point emporter de vive force des changemens dans la politique extérieure des États Unis en compromettant leur tranquillité et en y portant le désordre; au moins quelque beau qu'il fût de renverser l'influence Anglaise, un agent de la République ne sauroit y employer tels moyens sans une autorisation bien expresse. Il faut nous rallier à nos amis qui sont en même tems les amis de l'ordre et les ennemis de l'Angleterre et ne rien faire qui les force à rétrograder ou aller au delà de leurs vues. Une autre raison qui établit la nécessité d'une coopération de notre part, et celle-ci est la plus délicate, c'est la possibilité d'une guerre que l'opposition pourroit susciter entre les États Unis et l'Angleterre. Il ne seroit pas étonnant que nos ennemis en Amérique eussent tout préparé d'avance pour cette hypothèse avec le Ministère Britannique, et que dans la foiblesse maritime où la France leur paroît être, il ne regardassent une rupture avec l'Angleterre comme un châtiment utile qui achèveroit de détruire et l'influence et les prétentions du parti français. Il faut bien peser ces paroles de M. Taswell qui causant avec moi confidentiellement sur le traité me disoit: "Si le traité passe, il ne passera que par l'influence de la crainte qui agira sur les hommes foibles. On nous dit au Sénat et nous ne répondons guères à cet argument, il faut un Traité ou la Guerre avec l'Angleterre. "Vous sentez dans cette hypothèse de quelle responsabilité nous nous chargeons envers nos commettans, en les jettant dans des dangers, sans nous assurer les moyens d'en sortir. Il faudroit donc que nous eussions la certitude que la France, si le Traité succombe, accéderoit à une alliance offensive et défensive "qui nous garantît notre indépendance envers et contre tous. Nous aurions "surtout besoin d'avoir des renseignemens précis sur l'état de la France et sur "ses dispositions à notre égard."

(Y) Les articles 8 et 9 de ce Traité qui mettoient la France et l'Angleterre sur le pied des nations les plus favorisées par les droits sur les Importations ont toujours demeuré inexécutés le parlement refusant de passer les Loix nécessaires.

En calculant les raisons qui pourroient nous influencer pour ou contre l'adoption du plan que l'on croiroit devoir entraîner la Guerre, il faut considérer et sa possibilité et ses suites si elle existoit.

Il est difficile de croire que le Ministère Britannique voudût une Guerre avec l'Amérique dans la circonstance actuelle. Cette rupture porteroit un coup décisif aux liaisons de l'Angleterre avec les États Unis et le seul bruit en feroit murmurer une foule de Capitalistes et de Manufacturiers. Si l'Angleterre n'est pas en état de témoigner le plus léger ressentiment aux puissances Européennes qui désertent la Coalition elle ne le seroit guères plus de se venger de la suspension de son Traité avec les États Unis.

D'un autre côté, les suites de cette guerre se présentent sous un double aspect, sous le rapport de leur action sur les États Unis et sous celui de leur influence sur nos affaires. A défaut de force maritime pour protéger les ports principaux d'Amérique qui sont presque encore sans défense, il seroit possible que l'Angleterre envoyât réduire en cendres les villes les plus importantes; nos ennemis sans doute s'attendoient à tirer un grand avantage d'une pareille exécution.

Enfin la guerre si elle avoit lieu, ne pourroit être laissée à la conduite de l'administration actuelle dans laquelle on ne sauroit placer de confiance. Il naît de là une foule de mouvemens intérieurs et de luttes de partis qui pourroient rendre les affaires des États Unis orageuses et peut-être Sanglantes.

Quant à nous, la guerre paroîtroit devoir affecter nos approvisionnemens des Colonies et d'Europe; Cependant sous ce point de vue, il faut Considérer que depuis le Commencement de cette année et de la Guerre, il existe des ordres, des Commandans, des forces navales et Militaires des anglais qui deffendent l'introduction d'aucunes provisions dans nos Colonies par la voye des bâtimens neutres.

Il résulte de cette observation que tout ce qui se porte dans nos Colonies n'y entre qu'en trompant leur Surveillance.⁶⁸ D'un autre côté le traité laisse aux Anglais une telle latitude sur l'article de la contrebande qu'il sera facile aux Anglais d'affamer nos Colonies en Supposant même leur traité avec les États en pleine vigueur. (Z)

Si d'après diverses Considérations politiques nous ne nous Sentions point capables de Soutenir un plan énergique et ses résultats, il faudroit franchement en prévenir nos amis et temporiser avec eux jusqu'à des tems plus opportuns et attendre ces tems pour parler de négociation. Il faudroit trouver avec eux des prétextes plausibles de délai qui éloignassent l'exécution du Traité. Dans cette hypothèse il seroit nécessaire de préparer d'avance nos négociations pour être en mesure d'agir à l'époque de la réélection pour la présidence où il est probable que le Général Washington sera remplacé. Nul autre Candidat selon les apparences ne le disputera à Mr Jefferson, l'esprit public le désigne déjà et c'est à favoriser son Élection ou à la déjouer que se dirigent secrètement toutes les polémiques pour ou contre le Traité. (a) Sous Mr Jefferson nous pouvons compter sur un changement d'esprit qui prudemment ménagé de notre part peut conduire aux plus grands résultats. Si cependant l'administration actuelle forcée par la fermentation de l'esprit public se montrait disposée à traiter avec nous, notre opinion seroit qu'on le fit, quoique cette mesure dût incontestablement populariser une composition

⁶⁸ See Fulwar Skipwith's letters from St. Eustatius, March 1 and 7, 1794. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I, 428-429.

(Z) Voyez l'art. XVII et le 2.^e paragraphe de l'art. XVIII du Traité.

(a) M. Hamilton qui sous le nom de *Camillus* défend le traité a le premier dévoilé ces buts secrets dans son 1.^{er} N^o. Il dit que tout le tapage contre le traité n'a autre but que de faire rayer M.^{rs} Jay et Washington de la liste des candidats pour la présidence et de laisser le champ libre à M. Jefferson. [There were 38 of these *Camillus* papers, which were published in the *Argus*; the first was dated July 22, 1795, and the latter ones merely 1796. Hamilton, *Works*, edited by H. C. Lodge, V, 189-491; VI, 3-197].

d'hommes que excepté le Général Washington nous sommes fondés à regarder comme attachés à l'Angleterre de préférence à nous.⁶⁹

Des personnes qui sont loin d'avoir des notions inexactes sur les affaires américaines mettent en question qu'il soit de notre intérêt de lier ainsi nos plans à la chute d'un parti ou à l'élévation de l'autre. Elles pensent que ce Système est la vraie cause du Traité qui vient de se conclure.

Cette opinion mérite d'être discutée. Elle porte sur une base incontestable, c'est que les envoyés d'une Nation auprès d'un gouvernement doivent exclusivement s'attacher à gagner la bienveillance de ceux qui gouvernent. Cependant cette vérité souffre quelques modifications selon la nature du Gouvernement et selon la situation des choses. Quand la masse de la Nation, une majorité considérable dans la Législature et une partie du Cabinet se déclarent pour nos intérêts et les soutiennent contre une influence ennemie, refuserons-nous de la reconnaissance et des égards qui aillent au delà de la froide cérémonie à ceux qui nous servent; ne nous concerterons-nous pas avec eux s'ils peuvent faire réussir quelques unes de nos prétentions?

Il y a loin à la vérité de là à prendre parti pour leurs passions et leurs vues les plus extrêmes; ce parti tient de l'extravagance, l'autre est justifié par la saine politique et par des exemples. Ceux qui ont l'opinion ci-dessus vont au moins à un autre extrême; ils conseilleroient de ne témoigner que des froideurs aux hommes qui maintiennent seuls notre crédit. Vivons bien avec les hommes qui gouvernent; honorons les, mais ménageons les autres, voilà, ce me semble, la ligne moyenne de la sagesse.

Il n'est pas exact de dire que des liaisons trop marquées surtout à une certaine époque avec un parti opposé au Gouvernement, aient été les seules causes du traité d'aujourd'hui. Si cette assertion étoit vraie, tout ce que nous avons dit sur l'existence d'un parti Antifrançais, sur sa naissance immédiatement après la paix, sur l'augmentation de sa froideur et de son inimitié depuis certaines époques de notre révolution seroit faux. Or ces faits sont attestés par toute l'histoire des États Unis et par tous les papiers publics. Vouloir dissimuler les torts que nous avons eus dans un tems et l'irritation qu'ils produisirent seroit un excès de partialité, mais ce n'en seroit pas un moindre que de s'en servir pour voiler l'existence d'un système ennemi de la France dont personne ne conteste ni l'origine ni les progrès. L'enthousiasme que manifesta le peuple pour notre cause en mûrit les plans; les imprudences qui furent commises en accélérèrent peut-être l'exercice, mais ces imprudences n'avoient pu inspirer les écrits de Mr. Hamilton que nous avons cités et mille autres de la même espèce où nous étions avilis longtemps avant que Genêt parût.

Les personnes dont nous examinons ici l'opinion croient que c'est de nos ennemis même, de l'administration que nous devons attendre le remède aux maux produits par le Traité. Pour penser ainsi, elles doivent avoir des données autres que celles que nous fournissent les circonstances, les passions humaines, les faits enfin et la politique la plus vulgaire. Au surplus le Gouvernement décidera sur le système à

⁶⁹ In his judgment of Washington Fauchet followed Moustier who had written in 1788: "J'ai été parfaitement satisfait en particulier du Général Washington, avec qui j'ai passé plusieurs jours." Bourne, *loc. cit.*, IX, 89. Randolph, however, questioned Fauchet's high regard for the President. In a letter of July 29, 1795 to Monroe, he wrote: "For months before Mr. Fauchet left this city, he absented himself from the ordinary occasions of showing respect to the President; I mean those easy attentions, now and then, at his public room on Tuesday. I mention this; not on account of any stress, laid on that day; but because not visiting him on such days, Mr. Fauchet would be presumed, as in the case, not to have visited him on any other. For myself, except on business I seldom saw him. Still however, being anxious to impute this coldness to anything rather than an absolute alienation from the government; I regretted, that having no letters of recall, he could not be presented to the President on taking leave, as he seemed to wish. But I suggested to him, as a substitute, the waiting upon the President in an informal way, and agreed to accompany him. [Randolph to Fauchet, June 16, 1795. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, IV, 468-469]. This was done; and he dealt out his assurances of veneration to the chief magistrate, and of attachment to the secretary of State, with a lavish tongue." Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.

suivre, nous ajoutons que dans l'hypothèse où Mr. Jefferson seroit porté à la Présidence, nous serions à l'avenir mieux situés et pour la forme et pour le fonds.

Tous les plans auxquels on pourroit s'arrêter et surtout ceux qui auroient pour but une coopération quelconque avec nos amis, exigent de la rapidité dans l'exécution. Tous les momens sont précieux le Congrès s'assemble le 5. X^{bre} et siège ordinairement jusques en Avril ou en May. Si notre Ministre à Philadelphie n'est point dirigé dans ces conjonctures délicates par des réponses promptes aux dépêches qu'il a indubitablement écrites, et par des instructions, il se retranchera dans une parfaite neutralité de peur de s'engager pour plus que le Gouvernement françois ne voudroit ou ne pourroit tenir. Tous nos amis attendent que la France se montrera dans cette circonstance. Tous fondent là dessus leur espoir. On peut voir dans les Confidences de Mr. Taswell quel effet peut produire parmi eux la crainte de se voir abandonnés à la risée de leurs ennemis ou à l'animadversion de leurs commettans.

Le défaut de correspondances exactes avec nos agens aux États-Unis a été encore une des causes principales de tous nos malheurs. On ne se rappelle pas sans douleur que des trois légations successives des Citoyens Ternant, Genet et Fauchet, la première a été huit mois sans recevoir rien qu'on puisse appeler une dépêche, la seconde neuf, et la 3^e une année. Nous avons par le défaut de correspondance et par suite de nos lenteurs manqué trois occasions importantes d'agir et nous allons encore en manquer une quatrième. La proclamation de neutralité en avril 1793 nous a surpris et notre Ministre envoyé pour incliner l'Amérique vers un autre système arrive plusieurs jours après sa publication. Au Commencement de 1794 les résolutions de Mr. Madison et plusieurs autres projets défavorables à l'Angleterre échouent parce que nous les contrarions positivement d'un côté et que de l'autre nous ne Sommes point en mesure d'agir. Le traité est ratifié en Juin 1795 avant qu'un nouveau Ministre eût pu préparer aucun plan de réaction. Le Congrès va s'assembler en décembre cette année et aura levé sa séance avant que la légation actuelle ait reçu des Instructions. L'Angleterre n'agit point ainsi; et dans ce dernier cas, on peut être bien sûr que l'échange des ratifications de la grande Bretagne arrivera en Amérique au commencement de la prochaine Session. C'est encore une vérité douloureuse à exprimer que depuis une dernière dépêche politique signée du Ministre Le Brun⁶⁰ les derniers jours de son Ministère il n'a pas été reçu en Amérique du Gouvernement français une seule Lettre qui contienne un mot relatif à la conduite des affaires des États-Unis, ni qui marque qu'on s'en soit occupé un instant. Il est impossible que les agens travaillent avec un zèle soutenu quand en fermant leurs paquets, ils ont la décourageante idée que leurs travaux seront à peine lus et qu'ils ne seront sûrement point jugés. L'institution des paquebots réguliers dont on parle tant depuis plusieurs années et qu'on n'exécute jamais seroit un moyen sûr d'établir des communications régulières avec nos agens.

Un moyen de succès qui nous manque et dont nous ne sentons pas peu l'absence, c'est la constance dans nos plans, et la stabilité dans nos emplois publics. C'est à force d'avoir refondu en entier tout notre Etablissement consulaire depuis quatre ans, à force de l'avoir à tout moment recomposé d'hommes nouveaux et entièrement étrangers aux affaires que nous perdons tous les jours les ressources de politique, d'instruction et d'influence qu'un établissement consulaire bien organisé doit procurer à un Ministre. La plupart des hommes qu'on y a successivement employés venoient pour y faire leur noviciat et étoient rappelés avant de l'avoir fini. La plupart encore ignoroient la langue, chose qui doit au moins être de première nécessité pour un consul et conséquemment ne pouvoient travailler à recueillir aucun des matériaux nécessaires à la confection des travaux sur les

⁶⁰ Charles François Lebrun (1739-1824) later became third consul under the Consulate, and received the title of duc de Plaisance from Napoleon.

Loix, le Commerce et l'économie politique qui distinguent les légations qui ont existé sous un ordre de choses différent.⁶¹ D'ailleurs cette inconstance dans les emplois étonne les Américains qui ont tous les jours de nouvelles liaisons à nouer et les rend réservés, silencieux et circonspects.

Si les moyens que nous proposons nous manquent, si nous n'adoptons point un plan pour agir promptement et énergiquement de concert avec nos amis contre le traité, ou si le plan échoue, si M^r Jefferson enfin n'étoit point appelé à la présidence, alors il nous restera à regretter de n'être pas tellement situés que nous puissions punir l'Amérique en lui ôtant les grandes et lucratives facilités Commerciales que nous lui accordons dans nos colonies et en Europe. Il est encore à regretter vu l'importance et le degré de pouvoir auxquels les États Unis sont destinés que nous ne puissions les contenir par la puissance si nous ne les contenons pas par l'amitié.

Pour que nous fussions indépendans dans nos mesures envers eux, il faudroit que nous ne dépendissions pas d'eux pour les approvisionnem^{ts} de nos Colonies, et pour les réparations de nos forces navales. Nos colonies seront toujours à leur discrétion tant que leurs productions intérieures ne suffiront point à leur subsistance et que nous n'aurons point un établissement Continental voisin d'elles d'où nous tirions en subsistances et en autres objets ce que nous ne pouvons leur fournir de notre propre sol, surtout en tems de Guerre. Notre navigation et notre commerce gagneroient à un pareil établissement. La Louisiane nous offroit le moyen de l'acquérir, mais l'occasion de recouvrer cette riche possession est perdue irrévocablement; ⁶² c'est au génie de nos administrateurs à remplir cette ressource par quelqu'autre expédient. Le Canada seroit peut-être un substitut propre à nous faire regretter l'occasion que nous avons perdue de nous ressaisir de la Louisiane.⁶³

Cependant il pourroit nous rester quelques moyens de réaction contre l'esprit du Traité. L'exposition de ces moyens entrera dans la Suite du mémoire qui sera écrit sur le fond de l'acte lui-même, si le Ministre paroît désirer ce travail. On pourra ensuite traiter de plusieurs autres détails de nos affaires avec les États Unis qui n'ont pu trouver place dans cet ouvrage; de notre convention consulaire, des moyens d'utiliser nos consulats, de l'exécution de nos Traités avec les États Unis et des points qui durant cette guerre ont été mis en controverse et y reviendroient avec les guerres futures. Le travail que nous finissons est un Tableau général qui doit faciliter l'intelligence de tous les autres détails qui pourroient être présentés sur les différentes parties de nos rapports avec l'Amérique.

⁶¹ Fauchet's comments on the importance of the language equipment fit in with those of Volney. Writing from Philadelphia in January, 1797, the latter declared that it required three years for a foreigner to learn to know the United States well, the language alone taking a year. In this respect, he pointed out, the English enjoyed a great advantage over the French. Albert Mathiez, "Lettres de Volney à La Revellière-Lépeaux, 1795-1798," *Annales Revolutionnaires*, III (1910), 177.

⁶² Such a categorical statement reflects Fauchet's vexation at the failure of the Committee of Public Safety to obtain Louisiana from Spain by the Treaty of Basle signed in July, 1795; he had repeatedly, from Philadelphia, called the attention of his government to this former French colony. Turner, *Correspondence*, pp. 567-570; 580; 623-624; 652.

⁶³ As is well known, the rulers of France continued from this time until the feat was accomplished by Bonaparte to cherish the idea of regaining Louisiana. Frederick J. Turner, "The policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the period of Washington and Adams," *American Historical Review*, X (1904-1905), 249-279; F. P. Renaut, *La question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806* (Paris, [1919]); Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy*, pp. 79 *et seq.* But, as the editor has attempted to show elsewhere, the ruin of the West Indies, particularly St. Domingue, during the Revolution, revived and greatly strengthened in France pre-Revolutionary doubts respecting the future value of these possessions. If the islands were permanently ruined the *raison d'être* of a continental possession as support had ceased. At the time of the Bonaparte expedition to Egypt, many persons regarded that land as a fitting substitution for all dependencies in the New World.

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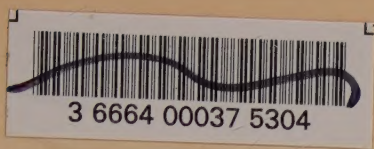
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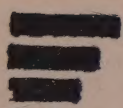
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